

U.S. out of Central America! Demonstrate on March 27!



Militant/Lou Howort



Intercontinental Press/Arnold Weissberg

Top: November 1981 protest in New York demands, "U.S. hands off El Salvador!" Bottom: Nicaraguan security chief Lenin Cerna displays dynamite seized from counterrevolutionaries. White House refuses to "confirm or deny" CIA involvement in sabotage attacks in Nicaragua. See editorial, page 18.

What workers are up against as GM contract talks reopen

BY GEORGE JOHNSON

General Motors, the largest auto manufacturer in the world, is asking its workers to make concessions in wages and benefits described as "nearly identical" to those given up by Ford workers in mid-February.

Negotiations between GM and the United Auto Workers (UAW) began after the union's GM Council voted 299 to 15 on March 11 to resume talks. They had broken off in January after GM became convinced its workers were not ready to vote for concessions.

This rank-and-file resistance was reflected in the GM Council's vote at the time — 43 percent against reopening, as opposed to less than 5 percent on March 11.

The pressures that caused this dramatic reversal by the GM Council are considerable. They include:

- A campaign by GM to convince its workers that their wages, benefits, and working conditions would have to be slashed to make GM more competitive. This campaign included initial demands for givebacks amounting to \$5 per hour; anti-Japan movies shown to workers on company time; letters from the GM board chairman; closings of plants, with threats of more; and raising of demands for takeaways during meetings of so-called Quality of Worklife groups (a company scheme to speed up production and decrease absenteeism).

- A media campaign that paralleled GM's to convince auto workers that their wages and benefits are too high. The big-business-owned media unanimously trumpeted exaggerations and outright lies about auto workers' wages. These lies accept as fact the auto barons' claims of wage and benefit differentials between American and Japanese auto workers.

- A campaign by the government — including both the Democrats and Republicans — to convince workers that sacrifice is necessary.

- A campaign for concessions by other corporations throughout the country.

- A campaign by the UAW leadership to sell a takeback contract to the union's members. UAW President Douglas Fraser threatened that a strike was the only alternative to givebacks. UAW officials organized a "back-to-negotiations-with-GM" movement after the Ford contract was ratified.

Most damaging of all, the UAW leadership appeared — accurately — to the membership as resigned to making concessions to the auto companies, and as unwilling and unable to put up a fight.

The Ford ratification, in the context of this coordinated campaign, brought about the reversal by the GM Council.

Opposition to concessions was organized by the quickly formed Locals Opposed to Concessions (LOC). This is a

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Nicaragua braces for U.S. attacks

BY JANE HARRIS

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — Multi-million dollar CIA destabilization plans. Terrorism. Bomb explosions. Threatened blockades. Lies and slanders. Now two bridges blown up by CIA-backed counterrevolutionaries. But nothing can stop the Nicaraguan revolutionaries from taking whatever steps are necessary to defend themselves.

This was graphically demonstrated here March 15. In response to the bombing of two strategic bridges near the Honduran border, Commander of the Revolution Daniel Ortega, coordinator of the Junta of National Reconstruction, announced a governmental decree placing the country on a state of emergency.

"It is the duty of the revolutionary government and the whole nation to turn our entire moral, political, social, economic, and human energy toward defense of the country and the revolution, to stop these acts of terror and destabilization once and for all," read the decree.

Thousands gathered at the main government office buildings to learn what steps will be taken to stop these attacks. They responded enthusiastically. "It's about time," the chant went up. "This is what we have been waiting for."

Displaying a photograph of the destroyed bridge over the Rio Negro, Ortega lamented: "The machinery that was being used to build roads and schools will now have to be used to repair the bridges, cutting productivity in our efforts to rebuild the country."

In view of this grave situation, Ortega continued, "We must now use both the law and guns to defend our government and revolution."

On the legal front, the government decreed a suspension of the constitution, suspended news broadcasts on capitalist-owned radio stations, and ordered pre-publication review of all newspapers and periodicals. Also suspended was the broadcast of "opinion programs of political parties and all other organizations."

Each of these measures is to remain in force for thirty days, at which time they may be renewed if deemed necessary.

In explaining the reasons for the decree, the government pointed to the enormity of the U.S.-inspired conspiracy against the Nicaraguan revolution in recent months.

- the attempt to blow up the country's major oil refinery;
- the terrorist attack on an Aeromexico jet in Mexico City;
- a bomb explosion that killed three airport workers in Managua;
- spyships on the Nicaraguan coast and spyplanes overhead;
- the training and financial backing of mercenaries to overthrow the Nicaraguan government;
- and openly announced plans to step up CIA backing to opponents of the revolution still living in Nicaragua.

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New threats fuel protest movement

BY NELSON GONZÁLEZ

In the face of the Reagan administration's public plans to organize a CIA-led invasion of Nicaragua and the recent bombing attacks inside Nicaragua, hundreds of antiwar activists have hit the streets to protest U.S. war moves. These actions are helping to publicize the national demonstrations against U.S. military intervention in El Salvador and Central America and the Caribbean on March 27.

The planned protests include a march on Washington, D.C., and support actions in Los Angeles, San Francisco, Oakland, Seattle, Dallas, Denver, Tucson, and Phoenix.

In Chicago, on twenty-four hours' notice, 200 people picketed the federal building March 12. The picket was organized by the March 27 Coalition. In Cleveland thirty people picketed the old federal building. In San Francisco the Nicaragua Solidarity Committee is planning a news conference and picket line.

Similar activities are being planned in New Orleans; Fort Bragg, North Carolina, and other cities.

In addition, the National Network in Solidarity with the Nicaraguan People has called for a national conference in Washington, D.C., on April 27.

Meanwhile, speakers for the March 27 rally in Washington, D.C., have been finalized.

At the pre-march rally beginning at 11 a.m. at Malcolm X Park, which is the assembly point for the march, scheduled speakers include Dave Dellinger, pacifist leader; Anne Braden, civil-rights leader; Josephine Butler, D.C. Statehood Party; Nat Meyers, Progressive Student Network; Jovelino Ramos, National Council of Churches; and others.

Scheduled to speak at the main rally at Lafayette Park in front of the White House are: a representative of the Revolutionary Democratic Front of El Salvador; Peggy Healy, Central America coordinator for the Maryknoll nuns; Rev. Ben Chavis, National Black Independent Political Party; Rev. Herbert Daughtry, National Black United Front; Robert Lopez, international representative of the United Auto Workers; and Doctor Helen Rodriguez, leader in the fight against sterilization abuse.

Recent announcements of CIA intervention in Central America and the Caribbean have increased the tempo of public activities geared toward turning out the largest possible participation on March 27.

Mario Salgado, from the Midwest regional office of the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES), reports that recently many actions have been held in the Midwest to let people know about March 27. For example, 100 people participated in an action in Ann Arbor, Michigan; a picket of 100 took place in Indianapolis; a rally was organized in Madison, Wisconsin;

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Nicaragua braces for U.S. attacks

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Commander Ortega explained that the decree is aimed against counterrevolutionary supporters of U.S. attacks. It "will enable us to keep a check on — the reactionaries will undoubtedly use some other term — the media that, although belonging to the people, is considered 'privately owned' by some, and has been serving as a mouthpiece for imperialism and the enemies of the revolution."

The Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) daily *Barricada* added, in its lead editorial March 16, "the aim of this decree is not to arbitrarily restrict democratic rights, but to protect and defend the revolution from those who have taken advantage of these liberties to promote counterrevolution and the return to a Somoza-type regime."

"The state of national emergency constitutes an indispensable initial step toward linking all forces in the country in defense of our homeland. It must be accompanied by a step-up in the organization of our people in the militias, more discipline in work and in matters of defense, patriotic attitudes on the part of businessmen and professionals . . . and above all by awareness of the fact that we are living in a historic moment. . . ."

Even Alfonso Robelo, a leader of the capitalist opposition, conceded his agreement with the emergency measures. "There are clear signs that something very serious could happen in Nicaragua," he said. "I think that we must be ready to defend the country."

Thousands enroll in militia

Nicaraguans are well aware that serious measures — including massive defense preparations — must be taken to counter the stepped-up U.S. attacks.

Tens of thousands of men and women volunteered for a new round of militia training, many in the hours following the bombing of the bridges.

Five thousand people from forty neighborhoods and twenty-five work places turned out for training at just one militia post, Centro Róger Núñez.

Thousands more came together the same night at other centers, including 3,000 at the July 19 Plaza. Commander Omar Cabezas told the crowd there, "They [the U.S. government] seem to think that we have the patience of St. Francis, but patience has a limit. From now on the Sandinista people's revolution is going to reply in the concrete to these counterrevolutionary criminals."

"Let's get those murderers!" chanted the crowd in response.

Commander Dora Marí Téllez was warmly received at a mass meeting at

Nicaragua's national university (UNAN) the same evening when she told the students: "The aggressors, even with their military power, can't fight against the determination of our people. They can't measure our people's strength by computers."

A few days earlier 300 leaders from more than 100 unions participated in a meeting with government officials to discuss the role workers can play in case of military attack. Also taken up were other serious problems resulting from the imperialist-caused financial squeeze. These include the adjustment of salaries in accordance with the ability of factories to pay them, the high price of water and electricity, and the shortage of school supplies and uniforms.

FSLN appeal to Americans

Because Washington has a long history of lies intended to twist the minds of American workers, Foreign Minister Miguel D'Escoto addressed a special statement March 15 to "Americans of good will."

He urged them to "reject and protest"

their "government's participation in such covert criminal acts," which are "contrary to the American people's own desire for peace."

In the meantime, he said, "acts of this sort force our government to enact laws that protect the institutions, border, and internal security of our country."



Militant/Fred Murphy

Tens of thousands join militia

BY ANTÍGONA MARTÍNEZ

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — As I approached the huge group of people standing in and around the auditorium, the day after the bombing, I could already hear the chants, clapping, and singing of some very excited young people, all students of the UNAN, Nicaragua's national university.

When I got a bit closer I was buttonholed by a young compañero out of breath and talking very fast.

"Compañera, today is the day, you've got to sign up for the militias."

"It's our duty as revolutionary youth to defend the country and the revolution."

"The imperialists are getting prepared; we have to also, so please sign up right away."

When I told him I had already signed up, he seemed a bit disappointed, but he moved on to the person standing next to me.

The recruitment rally at the university was very spirited. When Commander Dora María Téllez, a national leader of the Sandinista Front, asked the crowd of students if they were willing to defend the country even with their lives, there was only one unanimous, "Sí!"

Commander Téllez said to the crowd, "We are capable of multiplying up to infinity; if they put one foot in Central

America, we will know how to defeat them."

"They can come in, but they will never get out."

After her speech, the music, and an announcement that the long-awaited shipment of the new notebooks were now ready for sale, we were organized into our different *pelotones* (militia units), ready to receive our first training session.

My group had some 150 people — about half men and half women. We formed three rows and began marching and running. It was a total distance of about two miles. For not one yard of those two miles did we stop chanting or slow down. And when we began to get a little tired, we chanted even louder; things like "People, army, unity — Guarantee of our victory," "On our feet or dead, but never on our knees," and "If the yankees intervene, the militias will stop them."

The chanting kept the spirit up. We didn't realize how tired we were and how much we were sweating until the end of the two-mile run.

As we went through the neighborhoods, people came out of their homes to see us; this group of young people, some still carrying their school books and out of breath, but still with very enthusiastic chants.

I couldn't help but think that with so much energy and conviction, there's not an army in the world that could defeat the Nicaraguan people.

Tardencilla gets a hero's welcome

BY JANE HARRIS

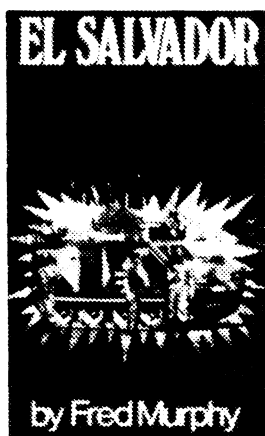
MANAGUA, Nicaragua — A virtual sea of clenched fists greeted nineteen-year-old Orlando Tardencilla here at Augusto César Sandino Airport March 15. Tardencilla was brought to Washington last week to testify that Nicaraguans and Cubans were intervening in El Salvador, as a pretext for U.S. intervention. He stupified the State Department when, at the risk of death, he exposed Reagan's lies before network cameras.

The modest hero told thousands of Sandinista youth who rallied to welcome him home, "I wasn't doing anything special, just my revolutionary duty."

Evidently, the United States hasn't yet learned, after decades of trying, that there is a whole country here full of good Sandinistas like Tardencilla, and nobody — but nobody — can stop them.

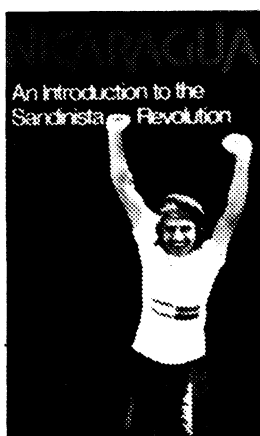
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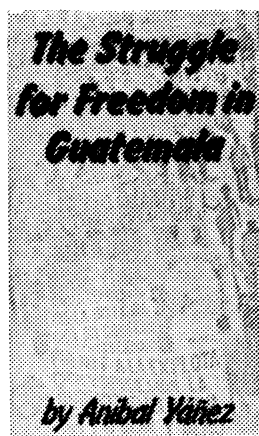
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Massive opposition to Washington's nuclear buildup

How can atomic war threat be ended?

BY DAVID FRANKEL

Millions of people around the world sense that the U.S. rulers are hurtling toward war. They see the Pentagon setting up new bases in the Caribbean and the Middle East; they see the CIA organizing counterrevolutionary armies in Central America and against the Iranian revolution; and they see the Reagan administration raising military spending to unheard-of heights.

In this context, concern about the threat of nuclear war is growing. Millions have taken to the streets in Western Europe to protest plans of the NATO alliance to expand its nuclear arsenal. Similar sentiment is now being expressed in the United States.

More than half a million people in California signed a petition to put the nuclear arms issue on the state ballot in the November 1982 election. The referendum advocates a mutual U.S.-Soviet freeze on the production, testing, and deployment of nuclear weapons.

Similar referendum initiatives have been launched in Michigan, New Jersey, and Delaware.

Resolutions along the same lines were approved by 159 town meetings in Vermont and 26 in New Hampshire early this month.

The U.S. rulers are not happy about these developments. "What was once a well-defined dispute among specialists is increasingly becoming the subject of popular conflict," Joseph Kraft complained in the March 11 *Washington Post*.

A similar view was taken by *New York Times* columnist James Reston, who argued March 7 that "control of nuclear weapons is too complicated and dangerous to be decided in New England town meetings or in popular petitions to the California Legislature."

Both Reston and Kraft, recognizing the massive popular sentiment against the nuclear arms race urged Reagan to walk softly. As Kraft put it, "The administration would be well advised to co-opt, rather than oppose, the anti-nuclear weapons movement now shaping up."

This advice is already being followed by many Democratic and Republican Party politicians.

Leopards changing their spots?

On March 10, a resolution on the nuclear arms issue was introduced in both houses of Congress. The resolution, along the same lines as the California referendum, has gained the support of about 150 legislators.

Although the resolution was quickly attacked by the Reagan administration and hailed by many on the left, including the U.S. Communist Party, it raised some obvious questions.

Just three months ago, the Senate passed Reagan's military budget by a vote of 93 to 4, and the House of Representatives voted for it by 334 to 84. That budget included all the nuclear weapons programs Reagan had requested.

Are the sponsors of the resolution for a freeze on nuclear weapons now against these programs that many of them voted for? Have the leopards changed their spots?

A quick look at what the proposed legislation actually says reveals why it has gained such broad endorsement.

What the resolution says

The resolution calls on the U.S. and Soviet governments to "pursue a complete halt to the nuclear arms race." It demands that they "decide when and how to achieve a mutual and verifiable freeze on the testing, production and

further deployment" of nuclear weapons.

The problem is that one of the governments that is supposed to determine "when and how to achieve" a freeze on nuclear weapons is the one responsible for the nuclear threat. That is the U.S. government.

Washington seeks to justify its nuclear arsenal by claiming it is necessary for the defense of the United States against Soviet aggression. But the fact is that never in its entire history has the United States faced any military threat from the USSR.

War against Russian revolution

When the workers and peasants took governmental power in Russia in November 1917, the new revolutionary regime did not pose the slightest military threat to the United States or to any other country.

But by December 1917, one month after the revolution, President Woodrow Wilson had already begun to secretly finance the formation of counterrevolutionary armies. Seven thousand U.S. troops arrived in Siberia in August 1918. They were part of a much larger foreign intervention, involving more than 300,000 troops from France and Britain alone.

It is not surprising that the imperialist powers reacted to the Russian revolution with fury. They were in the midst of a bloody war over markets, sources of raw materials, and colonial possessions. Then, at one stroke, the victorious revolution ripped a large sector of the world market out of their grip.

Furthermore, the establishment of a workers and farmers government in Russia was an inspiration to the masses throughout the world.

Even after their direct military intervention failed, the imperialist powers continued an economic blockade of the Soviet Union. Washington did not grant diplomatic recognition to the Soviet government until 1933.

Meanwhile, the USSR was confronted with the rising menace of fascism. In June 1941, German imperialism invaded the Soviet Union.

Military necessity forced the U.S. and British rulers into a wartime alliance with the Soviet government. But it was only seven months after the end of World War II that British ex-Prime Minister Winston Churchill ushered in the cold war with his famous "iron curtain" speech.

It was claimed that the Soviet Union was an expansionist power that was seeking to conquer the world. This charge was used to foster a witch-hunt inside the United States and as justification for launching a huge arms program. It became the stated goal of U.S. foreign policy to "roll back communism."

The United States came out of World War II with its productive apparatus more than doubled, with a monopoly on the atomic bomb, and with its cities untouched.

Compare this with the situation in the Soviet Union. To begin with, the country had lost at least 20 million dead — 10 percent of its entire population! Furthermore, the most heavily industrialized areas of the country had been devastated.

The Soviet Union was not in a position to launch any war of conquest. It desperately wanted peace. Between 1945 and 1948, the Soviet armed forces were reduced from 11.5 million to less than 3 million.

U.S. policymakers were well aware of



U.S. cruise missiles. Reagan's decision to drastically increase arms spending has sparked widespread protest, including attempts to put "nuclear freeze" initiatives on the ballot in several states.

all this. But they had to prepare the U.S. working people for wars against the colonial revolution that had begun to sweep across Africa and Asia.

U.S. troops were sent in to fight full-scale colonial wars in Korea and Vietnam, and to carry out dozens of smaller interventions against countries from the Dominican Republic to Lebanon.

The imperialist rulers are driven by their endless search for profits to seek out new markets, new areas of investment, new sources of cheap labor and raw materials. And the need to defend these sources of profit against social revolution leads the imperialist government to intervene around the world, as it is now doing in Central America.

The nuclear arms issue

Militarism and war are the necessary result of monopoly capitalism. And its nuclear buildup is one more expression of the imperialist war drive. It was Washington that produced:

- The first atomic bomb in 1945;
- The first intercontinental bomber in 1948;
- The first hydrogen bomb in 1954;
- The first nuclear submarine in 1954;
- The first submarine-launched ballistic missile in 1960;
- The first multiple independently targeted warhead (MIRV) in 1970.

And the Pentagon is now in the process of producing and deploying the first cruise missiles.

Since it is the U.S. rulers who are responsible for the nuclear threat, the demand to end it must be directed against them. That is why it is necessary to call for unilateral nuclear disarmament.

Furthermore, abstract talk about peace and arms control while ignoring the threat of a real shooting war does not advance the cause of peace.

Arms control negotiations between Washington and Moscow have been going on for decades now. The U.S. rulers use such negotiations as cover for continuing to escalate their nuclear buildup.

Resolutions and referenda calling for negotiations for a "nuclear freeze" don't change this situation. Arms control agreements have never helped to avert war.

Right now, any serious fight against the nuclear danger must include opposition to Reagan's moves toward war in Central America. It is precisely during wartime that there is the greatest danger of nuclear weapons actually being used.

A working-class solution

Ultimately, the only way that humanity can eliminate the danger of nuclear war is for the working class and its allies to disarm the imperialist warmak-

ers. The capitalist rulers will never voluntarily disarm themselves.

In the process of mobilizing the working class and its allies in the struggle for a workers and farmers government that would finally disarm the capitalists, the workers movement has to take part in every immediate struggle against war and militarism.

The working class has its own program for arms control — not a cent for the imperialist war machine!

We should demand not only a freeze on the building of new weapons, but the scrapping of the existing nuclear weapons in the U.S. arsenal, which can already destroy all life on earth many times over.

Such demands must be tied to opposition to imperialist intervention around the world. There can be no peace as long as the U.S. rulers violate the right of self-determination of countries from Iran to El Salvador. Defense of the conquests of the workers and farmers in other countries is part of the fight for peace. In this context, it is also necessary to oppose the imperialist draft and the presence of U.S. military bases throughout the world.

It could be argued that such a sweeping program is not realistic. But if the perspective of the workers and farmers establishing their own government to reconstruct society on new foundations is unrealistic, so is the survival of humanity.

N.Y. rally March 23 to hit Reagan visit

NEW YORK — President Ronald Reagan will be met by a protest demonstration when he comes to town on March 23 to receive a gold medal for his "contribution to humanity."

The demonstration is being organized by a broad coalition which includes over 100 student, labor, social, religious, and community organizations.

Protesters will demand an end to U.S. intervention in El Salvador. They will also call for a halt to the racist, sexist, and antiunion policies of the Reagan administration.

Among the supporters of the action are: Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador; National Black United Front; Workers World Party; Socialist Workers Party; University Student Senate of the City University of New York; Young Socialist Alliance; and the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees District Council 1707.

The rally will be on March 23, at 6 p.m., at 54th Street and Avenue of the Americas, in front of the Hilton Hotel.

For more information, call (212) 741-0633.

Hundreds in Detroit turn out for rally to build March 27

Sue Apstein reports from Detroit that 500 people turned out for a two-day educational conference March 10-11, organized by Central America solidarity and antiwar activists.

Speaking at a rally to publicize the March 27 antiwar demonstration in Washington, D.C., were Robert Lopez, international representative of the United Auto Workers; Kikora Ras Taba from the National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP); Arnaldo Ramos of the Revolutionary Democratic Front of El Salvador; and others.

Taba reminded the audience about the 17 percent death rate and 22 percent casualty rate for Blacks during the Vietnam War. She warned, "we would be the first to go," in another war. Raba described recent tours organized by the NBIPP to Grenada and Cuba. She announced

another NBIPP tour to Grenada in June.

Lopez blasted the Reagan administration's economic attacks on working people. He linked these attacks to the war being waged on working people in Central America. He charged that "Reagan lies when he blames the crisis in El Salvador on Cuba and Nicaragua... he is the one who is training soldiers and officers of the junta... he is the real terrorist." Lopez urged everyone to participate in the March 27 actions.

The rally was preceded by a news conference. At this gathering, Detroit City Council member Mary Anne Mahaffey presented Arnaldo Ramos with a resolution passed by the Detroit City Council. The resolution endorsed the March 27 action and opposed military and economic aid to the Salvadoran junta.

In addition, Local 23 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees voted to endorse March 27 and send two of its members as representatives.

El Salvador committee gains new support

The National Labor Committee in Support of Democracy and Human Rights in El Salvador has added eight new names to its list of supporters. The committee was formed to educate American trade unionists and other working people about the struggle in El Salvador. It opposes U.S. military intervention as well as U.S. aid to the Salvadoran junta.

The committee's initial endorsers include Douglas Fraser, president of United Auto Workers; Jack Sheinkman, secretary-treasurer of Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU); and William Winpisinger, president of International Association of Machinists.

New endorsers include Ed Asner, president of Screen Actors Guild; Kenneth Brown, president of Graphic Arts International Union; Murray Finley, president of ACTWU; Robert Gross, president of Oil, Chemi-

cal and Atomic Workers; Frank Martino, president of International Chemical Workers Union; Charles Perlik, president of The Newspaper Guild; Williard McGuire, president of National Education Association; and John Sweeney, president of Service Employees International Union.

Oregon, Arizona draw activists for antiwar work

Twice as many people as expected, over 200, turned out for a conference on violence in Central America at the Law School of Willamette University in Salem, Oregon. The conference was sponsored by the Salem Committee on Latin America (SCOLA).

Among the speakers at the February 26-27 gathering were Arnaldo Ramos from the Revolutionary Democratic Front, and Bill Wapapa from the American Indian Movement.

Trade unionist and SCOLA organizer Dave Worthington

commented on the success of the conference. "Our committee really has grown in the process of organizing the last three months for the conference."

Following the conference, representatives from eight Oregon cities and Seattle gathered for a regional meeting of the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES). They discussed plans for organizing an action in Seattle on March 27.

In Phoenix on March 10, 125 people attended a meeting called by the Committee Against U.S. Aggression in Central America (CAUSA). It was held at Arizona State University. Speakers included Joe McCawley from CISPES, Josefina Otero of the Young Socialist Alliance, Mary Anne Berling from CAUSA, and representatives from Amnesty International and Feminists United for Action. Several speakers urged those in the audience to participate in the March 27 action to be held at Temple Beach Park in Phoenix in coordination with the national march on Washington, D.C., on that same day.

—NELSON GONZÁLEZ

March 27 actions build to protest U.S. war moves

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and a March 24 rally is being planned for Minnesota.

The New York March 27 coalition reports very large turnouts at film showings of *El Salvador: Another Vietnam*, and at membership meetings of CISPES chapters.

At Bennington College, one-third of the student body of 600 came out recently to see a film on El Salvador. Mid-Hudson Valley CISPES reports a turnout of 300 for their film showing. Three hundred viewed the film at Rutgers, and 200 at Seton Hall and Long Island University.

At Princeton, several days after 600 students came out to see a film on El Salvador, two hundred students attended a meeting to set up a CISPES affiliate on campus.

At a recent meeting of the March 23 Coalition, initiated by the People's Anti-War Mobilization (PAM), 200 people discussed plans for a demonstration on March 23, when President Reagan is expected to be in New York. Larry Holmes, speaking on behalf of the Coalition, pointed out that on March 23 every speaker should say something about the

March 27 demonstration in Washington as part of the deepening struggle against the Reagan administration.

After being swamped by requests from students for seats on buses going to Washington on March 27, the student government at Lehman College in Manhattan decided to provide as many buses as necessary to meet all requests. Numerous other buses are being organized from all parts of New York City, independently of the March 27 Coalition.

In what is shaping up to be a very significant demonstration in Dallas, activists report a growing number of endorsers for the rally called by Dallas, Houston, and Austin antiwar and solidarity groups.

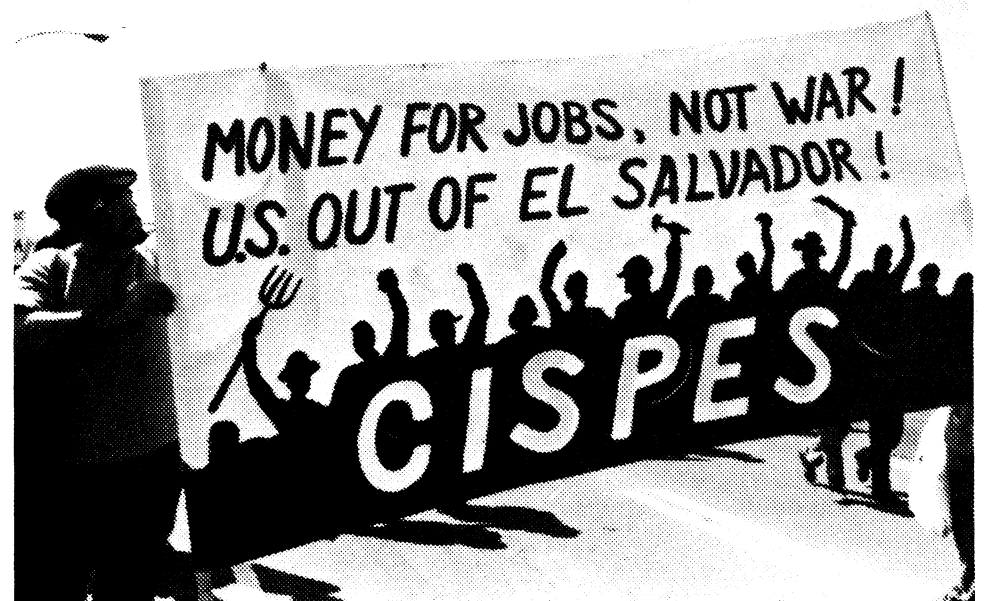
Among the scheduled speakers at the Dallas activity are Philip Wheaton from EPICA; Jaime Martínez, international representative of the International Union of Electrical Workers (IUE); Raúl Salinas from the American Indian Movement; a representative of Houston Casa Farabundo Martí and a representative speaking for Houston Congressman Leland.

In order to publicize the Dallas march, activists at Southern Methodist

University have called a March 24 campus rally, the first since the 1970 invasion of Cambodia.

In a recent San Antonio meeting organized to publicize the action, 150 people, mostly Chicanos, saw a film on El Salvador. The March 27 action in Dallas has been endorsed by IUE Local 780 in San Antonio.

In addition, in recent weeks both the League of United Latin American Citizens and the Mexican American Democrats, a group of Texas Democratic Party elected officials, have adopted resolutions in opposition to U.S. intervention in El Salvador. The United Steelworkers local at Hughes Tool in Houston has also passed a similar resolution.



Militant/Lou Howort

Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES) is helping to build demonstrations in Washington, D.C., Los Angeles, San Francisco, Oakland, Seattle, Dallas, Denver, Tucson, and Phoenix on March 27 to protest U.S. war moves.

El Salvador actions in Canada, Britain

Major actions will be held in Canada on March 27 demanding that the Canadian government end its support for the Salvadoran elections and U.S. aggression in Central America and the Caribbean.

Local protests will be held in many cities and a national demonstration will be held in Ottawa, the country's capital.

The actions were called by a conference in Ottawa in January, which brought together activists from forty-two solidarity groups and representatives of trade unions, humanitarian, church, and community organizations.

A petition has been launched by the three major labor federations in Quebec, together with Central America solidarity organizations and student groups, demanding that the Canadian government end its support for the Salvadoran elections and advocate a negotiated solution.

In Britain a national demonstration against U.S. intervention in El Salvador will take place in London on March 28. It will include a march to Trafalgar Square. The demonstration will coincide with the fraudulent elections scheduled by the Salvadoran junta for the same day.

Sell the 'Militant,' 'Perspectiva Mundial'

There will be a dispatch center for all those who want to sell the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, and the *Young Socialist* at the March 27 demonstration in Washington.

It will be located at the corner of 15th Street and Euclid Avenue on Euclid. This is at the northeast corner of Malcolm X Park, which is the assembly point for the march.

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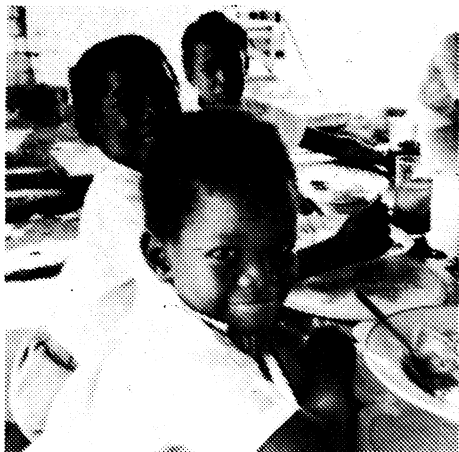
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Intercontinental Press/Pat Kane
Health care and education for everyone are priorities in new Grenada.

Ambassador gets out truth on Grenada

BY JERRY HUNNICUTT

MIAMI — For three years, the big-business media have bombarded Miami's working people with lies about the Grenada revolution.

A February 18-20 visit by Ian Jacobs, Grenada's deputy ambassador to the Organization of American States and the United Nations, served as an important opportunity to get out the truth about revolutionary Grenada. Jacobs was able to speak to over 400 people in meetings, and reached thousands more through radio talk shows and newspaper interviews.

In addition to speaking at the University of Miami and at Florida International University, Jacobs spoke at a Grenada solidarity rally held in Miami's Black community, co-sponsored by the Miami Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

As Jacobs described to the rally the gains made by the people of revolutionary Grenada, he was repeatedly interrupted by enthusiastic applause. The film *Grenada, Nobody's Back Yard* was shown following his presentation.

The high point of the tour took place when Jacobs spoke in front of 150

members of Miami's Haitian community. Several Haitians explained that they had come to hear Jacobs to learn the lessons of the Grenada revolution for their own struggle against the hated dictatorship of Jean-Claude Duvalier.

At this meeting, Jacobs gave a brief sketch of Grenada's exploitation under British colonialism and then under the Eric Gairy regime.

Jacobs described the role of Gairy's secret police, the hated "Mongoose Gang," and Haitians in the audience easily drew the connection between this and Duvalier's *ton tons macoutes*, the police goons who brutally suppress any opposition to the dictatorship in Haiti.

Jacobs explained the process of building the New Jewel Movement, rooting it in the struggles of the people and placing it in the front line of battle against the dictatorship.

As he went on to explain the gains of the Grenada revolution in education and health care, he was interrupted by cheers and applause. And as the meeting ended, shouts of "Free Haiti" and "Down with Duvalier" were heard throughout the room.

During the tour, Jacobs was also able to appear on a three-hour talk show on WMBM radio, a major station listened to by the Black community. The show was hosted by a prominent Black professor, Marvin Dunn.

When Dunn asked Jacobs to answer the charge that there were human rights violations and attacks on freedom of the press in Grenada, Jacobs took the question head on. He explained that since the March 1979 revolution there had been no violations of human rights.

He explained, "The people now have a regular voice in their affairs with Parish Councils. These councils are elected by the people of their parish and meet regularly with government officials to map out solutions to their problems. No such governmental structures existed under the Gairy dictatorship."

When the commentator interrupted Jacobs to ask about detainees, Jacobs explained, "We have only detained those who have used violence or plotted to overthrow our revolution through violent means, like those responsible for the June 1980 bombing deaths of three young girls and the wounding of twenty-eight others."

With regard to the press, Jacobs explained that there are a number of independent newspapers in Grenada, the only restriction being that the papers cannot be owned by one person or by non-Grenadians.

In response to the commentator's questions regarding Grenada's relationship with Cuba, Jacobs explained that "Cuba has aided Grenada tremendously — in technical assistance with the construction of our international airport, in our fishing industry, and in our health care."

After the revolution, Jacobs noted, the U.S. ambassador to the Eastern Caribbean attempted to offer the Grenadians money if they would have nothing to do with Cuba. "We told them to keep their money," he said.

"Since then, our relations have gone downhill. The State Department has tried to isolate us among our Caribbean neighbors. They will not certify our ambassador, and they have refused to accept our application for formal diplomatic relations."

"The State Department has gone on a campaign of lies about our revolution."

Jacobs added that the current war preparations in the Caribbean were aimed at Grenada as well as Cuba and Nicaragua.

When the commentator attempted to hint that Grenada might receive better treatment from the United States if they gave up their relationship with Fidel Castro, Jacobs answered, "We determine who our friends are."

Jacobs made it known that he is available for speaking engagements and film showings throughout the country. He can be reached at the Grenada Mission to the United Nations in New York.

Guatemalans defy gov't, shun election

BY JANE HARRIS
AND ANTIGONA MARTÍNEZ

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — Sixty percent of Guatemala's voters responded to the call by the Guatemalan National Revolutionary Union (URNG) to boycott the March 7 elections, even though not voting is illegal. (Guatemalans can lose their jobs for failure to vote.) The URNG arose out of the unification of Guatemala's four main revolutionary guerrilla organizations in February.

Furthermore, 30,000 Guatemalans cast blank ballots as a means of avoiding victimization while registering their protest.

News of Gen. Aníbal Guevara's election as president of Guatemala came as a surprise to no one.

Mass murder, intimidation, and fraud were but a few of the means used by the government to ensure that Guevara's victory would come off without a hitch.

Some 200 men, women, and children in the town of Santa Cruz del Quiché

were decapitated with machetes on election day, a fact that was covered up by the Guatemalan army for four days.

Eight delegates from the Christian Democratic Party were "disappeared" after leaving the polls where they had been working.

Organized by a regime that has been systematically murdering even its most moderate political opponents, the elections were merely a cynical public relations gimmick designed to put a better face on the savage repression carried out by the government. The only participants in the presidential race were rightists.

Prior to election day, a special Mobile Emergency Force was formed. Consisting of security troops, national police, and counterinsurgency forces, and armed with air force helicopters, the force was supposed to guard any installations that the revolutionary guerrillas might attack.

Despite incessant patrols of Guatemala City and nearby villages by helicopters and armored cars, insurgent forces stopped traffic, barricading roads with stones, old tires, and power and telephone poles. In addition, buses that were to have transported voters to the polls were burned.

Right-wing opponents of Guevara were livid about election fraud. They told their poll watchers to leave at midday, when the evidence became obvious to them. Demonstrations organized by the losing rightist parties occurred in Guatemala City March 9. Police threw tear gas at groups of protesters and fired shots into the crowd. The number of dead and injured has yet to be revealed.

Because in some areas there were more votes than persons registered to vote, and because election officials were so slow in counting the ballots, the rightist National Liberation Movement (MLN) has officially asked for an annulment of the election. They have taken their evidence to the U.S. embassy, hoping to put more pressure on Guevara's regime.

For protesting the election, three right-wing presidential candidates were detained in a clandestine detention center for an hour and a half and then released. Three reporters for the American Broadcasting Company were also beaten up and detained by the police.

Since election day, a dozen murders by the police have been reported. Renan Quiñonez, a spokesperson for the Christian Democratic Party, told the press that he had information concerning a death list containing the names of 100 persons. Included on the list were the three right-wing candidates who lost.

From Intercontinental Press

Argentine socialist murdered

BY JOAQUÍN RIVERY

[The following article appeared in the March 7 issue of the English-language weekly *Granma*, published in Havana, Cuba.]

* * *

The kidnapping and murder in Buenos Aires of Ana María Martínez, a member of the Argentine Socialist Workers' Party, has aroused a wave of condemnation and led many to wonder if Argentina is returning to the era of unsolved killings.

Ana María Martínez, who was pregnant, disappeared on February 4. She was arrested near her home by a group of armed men and taken off in an olive green car. The car had a radio and no license plate and resembles those used by the Argentine repressive forces.

Ten days later her body was found in a garbage dump 25 kilometers from Buenos Aires. According to police evidence, it was absolutely unrecognizable. Identification was made from her fingerprints.

The military regime blamed ultraleft groups for the crime, but this version is widely disbelieved.

Human rights organizations, politicians and political parties, and people active in the arts promptly joined in the wave of protest, and even organs of the mass media chimed in. Many blamed the crime on the state security services.

When it was announced that the parents of the victim were to request that the body be exhumed and a new autopsy performed, the police claimed the body was still in the morgue. Nobody knows why Martínez's body was not given to the parents. At the time of writing, the body has still not appeared.

Recently a mother told how her son had been kidnapped. The kidnapers forced her to sell her apartment and give them the money; then they disappeared. She has not heard from them or from her son.

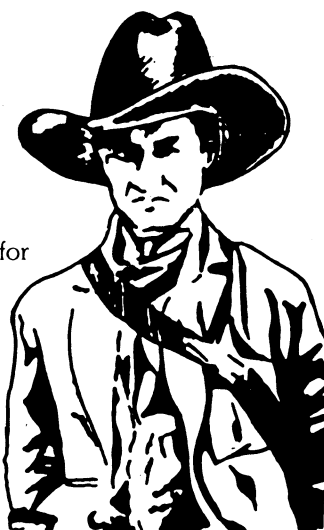
A series of kidnappings recently has led human rights groups and observers to wonder if a new wave of disappearances is growing, such as that which took place in 1976 following the military coup, when thousands of people disappeared, never to be heard of again. Ever since 1976, groups of mothers and other relatives of the victims have been demonstrating regularly in the Plaza de Mayo, in central Buenos Aires, demanding to know the whereabouts of their loved ones.

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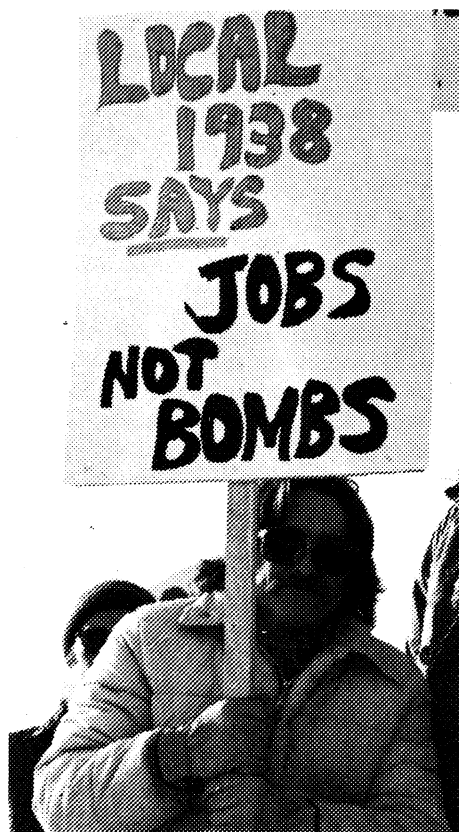
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Socialists set drive to up sales of press



Militant/Elizabeth Kilanowski
February 2 anti-Reagan demonstration in Minneapolis. Antiwar actions like this and upcoming March 27 protest will be one focus of spring campaign to increase sales of socialist press.

BY NANCY ROSENSTOCK

This spring members of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance will be carrying out a twelve-week drive to increase sales of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*, a Spanish-language, biweekly socialist magazine. The goal is to reach 4,500 readers each week in addition to subscribers.

The drive will begin with the April 2 *Militant* and the April 5 *PM*. It will conclude with the June 18 *Militant* and the June 14 *PM*.

The campaign will be kicked off with a giant sale at the March 27 demonstrations against U.S. intervention in Central America. It will end with sales at the June 12 United Nations demonstration against disarmament.

There's sure to be a lot of receptivity to socialist ideas this spring. Opposition to war in Central America and the Caribbean is deep and continues to grow. Unemployment is at the highest level since the Great Depression.

Many protests are taking place and more are planned for this spring. Two national antiwar demonstrations have already been called.

A growing layer of workers, who suffer from the bipartisan offensive against the labor movement, are looking for answers. They are discussing how to effectively fight back against the war

drive and the employers' austerity program.

Sales of the *Militant* and *PM*, along with election campaigns and public forums, is the key way that socialists participate in these discussions. It is by introducing new people to the *Militant* and *PM* that we are able to pose working-class solutions to the current economic crisis and the militarization drive.

Through sales of the *Militant* and *PM*, campaign activists will be winning support for socialist candidates who are running in local and state-wide races in twenty-eight states and Washington, D.C.

In California, Mel Mason, a socialist city council member from Seaside, is running an independent campaign for governor of California. His supporters are gearing up for an aggressive campaign. They will be introducing hundreds of new people to Mason's campaign through the *Militant* and *PM*.

Alongside the sales campaign, petitioning to put socialist candidates on the ballot will be taking place in over a dozen states. Through this effort, thousands more will become familiar with the working class alternative in 1982.

While this big effort to win ballot status will mean that there will be many weeks that not all areas will be able to fully participate in the sales campaign,

we expect to win new readers through our petitioning effort.

We'll be taking the *Militant* and *PM* to garment workers, auto workers, steelworkers and others, including those who are laid off from the mines, mills, and yards. *Militant* and *PM* salespeople will be outside of plant gates, at unemployment offices, check-cashing centers, or wherever concentrations of industrial workers can be found.

Socialists who work in these industries will be introducing more and more people to the proposals of the *Militant* and *PM* for how the union movement can organize to fight back.

We'll be following the example of St. Louis socialists. Every week a team of *Militant* salespeople are at the gates of McDonnell Douglas. This giant aircraft company, which has many Pentagon contracts, has singled out four union militants for victimization and firing because of their political beliefs. Jody Curran, who is under investigation by the company for her views, heads up the sales team. Her co-workers have come to respect her for fighting back. They buy the *Militant* to find out about the ideas McDonnell Douglas is trying to suppress.

In most areas, Saturday will be the big day of the week. On that day, sales teams will fan out across the cities selling *Militants* and *PMs* and winning support for the socialist candidates.

Sales on campuses and at high schools will be brisk as we meet the draft-age youth who refuse to fight Reagan's war in El Salvador.

Our initial experience at garment shops tells us that *PM* sales can be very successful. Recently, in Brooklyn, more than fifty copies of *PM* were sold in the garment district in a little over one week.

Our success in reaching thousands of working people with the ideas of revolutionary socialism through the circulation and ballot drives this spring, will lay a strong foundation for taking even bigger steps forward in bringing our ideas to working people during the final lap of the 1982 election campaign.

We urge *Militant* readers to join us in this effort. Just fill out the coupon on this page and we'll rush a bundle off to you.

Workers won't foot Wash. nuke bill

SEATTLE — A major confrontation is growing in Washington state over who is going to pay runaway costs in the building of five nuclear power plants by the Washington Public Power Supply System (WPPSS).

The confrontation is between the state's working people on the one hand, and the banks, contractors, bondholders, and corporations on the other.

In the early 1970s the banks, contractors, and big corporations launched a WPPSS program to build five nuclear power plants in the state, supposedly to meet the state's need for electricity in the coming years. At the time construction broke ground, the total cost was to have been \$6 billion.

Today, WPPSS directors say the bill will be \$24 billion, and that is with two of the five plants cancelled, though partially built. For shutdown costs alone of the cancelled plants, WPPSS directors want \$7 billion, most of which is for work that will never be done.

All those responsible admit mismanagement. They agree that the outrage of utility customers in the state is justified. But just as unanimously they say the bills must be paid.

But what does "the bills must be paid" mean to the working people of Washington? It means that rates, which have already doubled in the last two years, will double and triple again in many areas of the state by 1984.

These figures need to be translated into bimonthly bills to grasp the real impact. Dorothy and Ted Lindsay organized a local chapter of IRATE ratepayers in Grays Harbor when their electric bill became larger than their mortgage payment. Sandy Daniels, also from Grays Harbor, said her two-month bill, which had been between \$120 and \$150, has gone to \$377.

Washington's working people have had enough. Citizens in county after county have held rallies and marches against the rate increases. Four thousand turned out in Hoquiam, 1,400 in Port Angeles, and 1,200 in Shelton. Four actions of between 200 and 1,000 have taken place in Everett, and one of 1,200 was held in Mason City.

Meetings have been held in Tacoma and Seattle. Clallam and Pacific counties have scheduled a second round of meetings later this month. A state-wide conference of the local groups was held March 14 in Olympia.

Some small victories have already

been won. A few districts have refused to lend WPPSS any money even to sell the cancelled plants and assets. This means the entire project could go in default. Some of the citizens' groups have forced their utility commissioners, who are elected, to vote against rate increases. Lawsuits have also been filed.

A statement being distributed by supporters of Chris Remple, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate, declares that WPPSS is a public utility in name only. It was set up by banks, big investors, and power companies. It was sold to Washington voters by Democratic and Republican politicians.

Its purpose, he said, was "to convince us there would be no power without nuclear power and that we had to finance

the profits of investors."

Pointing out that Washington's working people have no means of discussing or deciding how energy resources should be used, Remple calls for nationalizing the energy industry and running it with an elected public board.

Remple said all nuclear plants should be shut down, and he called for an examination of WPPSS's books so working people can see what resources exist and then determine if and how much hydroelectric and coal power may be necessary.

"We say to the banks," he declared, "you made the bad investment. You take the loss. It's your problem. Not one penny more. No more bond sales to bail out the banks and the investors. Let the banks pay."

Philly candidates hail Grenada anniversary

PHILADELPHIA — On March 13, the third anniversary of the Grenadian revolution, the Socialist Workers Party campaign in eastern Pennsylvania kicked off its 1982 campaign with a militant rally at Antioch College here.

The revolutionary example of Grenada "has special significance to Black people in America," said Chris Davis, SWP candidate for the Pennsylvania State Senate in District 3. "Since their revolution, the new government in Grenada has put an end to racist attacks and to the oppression and exploitation of Blacks. It has replaced these evils with free education, free health care, and a fight for full employment."

Davis, a twenty-three-year-old hospital worker from north Philadelphia, said his campaign would talk to the people of Philadelphia about the need for an independent party that will fight for human needs and fight for a workers and farmers government in the United States.

Davis told the sixty people at the rally that the Philadelphia Black community has been a special target of police repression designed to instill fear and intimidation in the community.

"The international economic crisis and the decline of American industry demand that the American ruling class break the power of the trade union movement, ultimately eliminating it altogether," said Cathy Emminizer, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate and a member

of United Auto Workers Local 92.

"The capitalists have been backed into a corner. Their very survival demands that they strike out against the workers at home with austerity and union busting, and against workers abroad with the unleashing of their military might," said Emminizer. "But their attempt to implement their program is running smack up against a new generation of fighters."

A "permanently laid-off" Conrail worker, Mike Finley, who is the SWP candidate for U.S. Congress from District 4, pinned the blame for rampant unemployment on the U.S. ruling class. "Unemployment is consciously created by the corporations and their government because it is profitable. The number of unemployed is now the largest since 1939. Putting these people back to work will take revolutionary measures," said Finley.

He called for a massive public jobs program to create employment, for a shorter workweek to spread the available work, and for putting the 17 percent of the country's unused industrial capacity back into service.

Two young workers at the rally were impressed. The candidates "had a very militant tone, but weren't removed from the practical framework of making a change," said George Shockey, a visitor to Philadelphia while laid-off from work at a lamp manufacturing plant in Florida. "I was impressed with how up front

people were with putting socialism out," said John Dougherty, a Philadelphia activist from the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador who was drawn to the rally after meeting an SWP candidate at a demonstration for El Salvador.

A fifteen-year-old high school student, Greg Rosenberg, said he wished more revolutionary young people would have come to the rally. "If they could just hear this, they wouldn't believe all the lies they are always being told," he said.

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Bernard Sanders, socialist mayor of Burlington, has helped organize support to air traffic controllers, women's rights, and against the draft since his election last year.

Burlington Vt. citizens give socialist mayor vote of confidence

Workers, students, poor elect aldermen

BY JON FLANDERS
AND PETER THIERJUNG

BURLINGTON, Vt. — Supporters of Bernard Sanders, Burlington's socialist mayor, inflicted a stunning defeat to the Democratic Party here in the March 2 aldermanic elections.

Of six candidates for Board of Aldermen endorsed by Sanders's Coalition for Responsive Government, three won against Democrats and Republicans; and two came close enough to force run-off elections. If Sanders's supporters win the run-off, they will have a majority of the seven-seat Board.

Sanders was elected a year ago on a platform of opposition to increased property taxes and the construction of a waterfront housing development for the rich. His support came mostly from workers, students, and other low-income people.

Last year's election drew national attention when Sanders, who supported Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate Andrew Pulley in 1980, beat a Democratic Party incumbent who had not lost an election in twenty-three years.

The election this March was marked by what the Associated Press described as "the most heated aldermanic campaigns the city had seen in years." More than 10,000 people voted in the off-year election, a record number for Burlington.

The election capped a year of intense political activity and controversy since Sanders's election. Since that time, City Hall has been a center of political discussion, debate, and organizing.

Meetings in support of striking air traffic controllers, the struggle in El Salvador, Irish hunger strikers, women's rights, and against the draft have been held at City Hall with the support and participation of the mayor. Senior citizens, neighborhood groups, and other local organizations have also met at City Hall to discuss and organize around their concerns.

In the last year the Democratic Party,

which had a stranglehold on city politics, has responded to the election of the mayor with a campaign of foot-dragging, obstruction, and red-baiting.

They used their majority on the Board of Aldermen to stop the appointment of Sanders's supporters to city administrative posts. Democrats holding those posts sabotaged and delayed initiatives taken by the mayor. And in a move that backfired, the Democrat-controlled Voter Registration Board passed restrictive registration requirements that they claimed would prevent "transients," such as students, from voting.

Not only would these measures have denied students their voting rights, but many poor working-class voters would also have been excluded from elections. The courts declared this maneuver illegal and unconstitutional, after an angry response from citizens.

Both Democrats and Republicans claim that city problems over the last year were due to the mayor's "radical and confrontational approach" which

"prevents him from working with people."

Sanders and his allies responded that the real problem was the consistent refusal of Democrats and Republicans to carry out genuine social change that would benefit working people.

One Democrat said of Sanders during the campaign, "Socialism should not be allowed to hibernate here and grow like a fungus."

As the election neared, Sanders and his supporters formed a slate of candidates, the Coalition for Responsive Government. The slate included independents, Citizens Party activists, and former Democrats disillusioned with the antics of Democratic Party bosses.

The thrust of the coalition was outlined in an endorsement statement by Sanders that was distributed during the campaign: "We have begun the process of making the Burlington city government open to all people, rather than the small clique and special interests who ran it in the past. I urge your support for

the above-mentioned candidates so that this city can move forward vigorously to protect the interests of working people, the elderly, the young, and all people of independent mind and spirit."

Interest in the election was intense. More than 100 young people campaigned for coalition candidates. Sanders estimated that he alone knocked on more than 1,500 doors. Three hundred people turned out for a campaign fundraiser at City Hall that included the showing of a film on the Industrial Workers of the World, a prominent radical group in the early 1900s.

Left with two sure board seats, Democrats blamed "clever propaganda" for their defeat. The fact is that the working people of Burlington, radicalizing under the impact of the current economic crisis, gave their socialist mayor a vote of confidence. Mayor Sanders greeted the victory as a mandate to "fight against injustices against working people wherever they exist."

Socialist campaign slams war drive

BY OSBORNE HART

BOSTON — The Socialist Workers Party kicked off its 1982 Massachusetts election campaign here March 13 with a rally urging all-out opposition to U.S. government intervention in El Salvador.

"We're issuing a challenge to the Kennedys," said SWP gubernatorial candidate Don Gurewitz, who chaired the event. "We're putting forth an alternative for working people on the major issues. And the most important issue is war."

Emphasizing the threat of U.S. military intervention in Central America and the Caribbean, Jane Roland, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate opposing Democratic incumbent Edward Kennedy, explained, "The U.S. government is on a war drive: a bipartisan effort to destroy

the struggle in El Salvador and the revolutions in Nicaragua, Grenada, and Cuba.

"The comparisons between El Salvador and Vietnam are obvious," continued Roland, "but there's one big difference. Americans remember Vietnam!"

"Do you think the younger brother of a Vietnam vet dying of Agent Orange is going to line up for murder in El Salvador?"

Roland, a shipfitter at the General Dynamics Quincy shipyard, challenged Kennedy, who poses as an "antiwar" candidate, to demand that the United States immediately stop all aid to the bloody junta in El Salvador.

A highlight of the evening was a speech by Terry Bouricius, a member of the board of aldermen in Burlington, Vermont. He represented Burlington's socialist mayor, Bernard Sanders, at the rally.

Bouricius, a socialist, was elected to the board of aldermen with the Vermont Citizens Party ballot designation last year when Sanders was elected mayor.

Bouricius spoke of the significance of the victory last month of a board of aldermen slate that Sanders vigorously campaigned for. Supporters and opponents of the slate alike saw the election as a referendum on the Sanders admin-

istration, Bouricius emphasized.

Declaring that he also spoke for Mayor Sanders on the issue, Bouricius said he strongly favored formation of a labor party in this country.

Bouricius said he "very much endorsed" the plank in the SWP platform calling for formation of a labor party, and hoped "that we will see a labor party based on the unions in the United States."

He told the meeting he also agreed that capitalism could no longer meet the needs of working people and that it was necessary to work for fundamental change.

Other speakers were Art LeClair, SWP candidate for lieutenant governor; Valerie Eckart, congressional candidate; and *Militant* staff writer Harry Ring.

LeClair, who is vice-president of his rail union local, is a native of South Boston. Eckart, a factory worker, is former chair of Central Vermont National Organization for Women. An extensive petition drive will be conducted to win her a place on the ballot.

The buffet and meeting, which featured a jazz combo, drew more than 100 people. More than \$2,770 was contributed or pledged at the meeting for the campaign.

Socialist press harassed in Iran

On March 16 representatives of the Revolutionary Prosecutor's Office in Iran began confiscating copies of *Kargar*, newspaper of the Revolutionary Workers Party (HKE), from newsstands in Tehran. The confiscations occurred despite the fact that the government has issued no statement revoking *Kargar*'s legal status.

The HKE supports the Iranian revolution and has been active in opposing imperialist attacks on Iran.

Armed men came to the shop where *Kargar* is printed on March 15 and arrested the printer, Mohammed Bagher Falsafi. His whereabouts are unknown. Falsafi has been a member of the Iranian Trotskyist movement for ten years.

The previous issue of *Kargar* had contained an extensive interview with HKE leader Bahram Ali Atai, who had just been released from Evin Prison. In the interview, Atai reported that secret

executions had been carried out at the prison. He said torture was practiced, including hanging people from the ceiling with only their toes touching the floor. Atai and other prisoners were whipped on the feet, he said.

This issue of *Kargar* sold out on the newsstands. The French daily *Le Monde* reported on the Atai interview on March 13.

The HKE has filed a lawsuit calling for a halt to torture, illegal detentions, and executions. The confiscated *Kargar* issue reported on this lawsuit and on harassment of the HKE by the authorities.

Those who support the Iranian revolution and defend it against the attacks of imperialism should send telegrams calling for Falsafi's release to Hojatolislam Mousavi Tabrizi, Prosecutor General, Revolutionary Courts, Tehran, Iran. Copies should be sent to *Jomhuri-ye Eslami*, Tehran, Iran.



March 13 campaign rally in Boston issued challenge to the Kennedys by putting forth an alternative for working people on the major issues.

Militant/John Rees

Going home: a Vietnamese visits his native country

BY PHAM QUOC THAI

I left Vietnam in 1971, when I was seventeen years old. I had won a four-year scholarship to the State University of New York at Plattsburg, in upstate New York.

Even had I known then that Plattsburg is a lot closer to the North Pole than to my hometown of Nha Trang, I would have considered myself fortunate — four years of study abroad would keep me out of the South Vietnamese Army, out of a war I could not really understand except to think that it might go on forever.

At that time, I had only a vague feeling that the excuses that the Saigon regime and its American patrons gave for prolonging this terrible conflict were "fishy." People in my hometown could not speak freely about their feelings for fear of Thieu's secret police. The South Vietnamese press and radio were government-censored, of course, and our only television station was the Americans' Armed Forces Network.

All that I knew for certain was that the hordes of American soldiers and marines who cluttered the lovely beaches of my hometown, along with their hired Vietnamese "girlfriends" and their limitless stockpiles of beer, did not treat me and my fellow Vietnamese as friends, allies or even equals. They despised us openly, and we despised them covertly.

Easier to see the truth

America was full of surprises.

First of all, there was the awful homesickness, made worse because only the African students at Plattsburg could understand what I meant by "warm." There were no other Vietnamese there.

Then there was the relentless barrage of stories in the American media about the war in my country, what it was doing to my land and to my people. It was easier to see the truth about the war from the United States than from Nha Trang. I was appalled and bitter and helpless to change anything, but I at least knew which side I was on.

In 1975, the society I had been trained to serve collapsed like a house of cards. I was stranded in a country that I could less than ever consider as a possible "home." Among Vietnamese "refugees," "emigrés," and "immigrants," I felt like an involuntary exile.

At first, I had hoped that the U.S. government would come to terms with reality and establish normal diplomatic and trade relations with the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. But official U.S. government policy remained — and remains — hostile toward my country.

Nevertheless, the Vietnamese government gave me permission in 1981 to return to my country for a two-month visit, along with my American fiancée, Anna Bradley. From the start, the Vietnamese government officials were sympathetic to my desire to return home; the problems and obstacles came from the other side.

This surprised me a little. In the past, Vietnam defeated both France and Japan, but these countries very quickly established diplomatic and trade relations with my country. The U.S. government has found excuse after excuse not to do so. A poll of the American people taken just after the war showed that most of them favored not only recognition of Vietnam, but American aid for postwar reconstruction. The U.S. government has ignored the sentiments of its own people so consistently that I wonder how Ford, Carter, and Reagan can claim to "represent" them.

Returning home

Anna was supposed to leave New York ahead of me and pick up our visas at the Vietnamese embassy in Bangkok, Thailand. From there, we were sup-

posed to meet and fly on to Ho Chi Minh City (formerly Saigon) together. At the last moment, Pan American Airlines told me that the Thai government, an American client state, would not allow me even to change planes in Bangkok. I had to fly via Air France, which has a weekly direct flight from Paris to Ho Chi Minh City. It has a stopover in Bangkok, but I wouldn't have to leave the plane.

Anna would arrive in Vietnam a week before I could join her, a situation that only increased my nervousness and anticipation.

My flight to Paris and then on to Vietnam took four days. It was an exhausting trip. I couldn't sleep because of my excitement and anxieties, the change in time zones, and the noise of aircraft engines. But as the plane lifted off from Bangkok, my anxiety subsided and the excitement grew.

I could soon see a familiar landscape through the window. As the plane made its final descent toward Ho Chi Minh City, the tropical vegetation, the Saigon River, the rice paddies — images buried inside me for ten long years — appeared and disappeared through the cloud cover of the early rainy season, giving me back my full energy. It was like waking up to a summer day after a long hibernation.

I couldn't believe I had actually landed in the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, my beloved country. Standing in the aisle, waiting for the plane to roll to a complete stop, I bubbled over with joy. As the door of the plane swung open, Vietnamese voices from the runway assured me that I was home. When I walked out the door, that familiar heat wrapped itself around me as if to welcome me.

In Ho Chi Minh City

After checking through Vietnamese customs, I was greeted by three friendly Vietnamese officials from the Viet Kieu (Overseas Vietnamese) Committee of Ho Chi Minh City; they would help me throughout my stay. Anna joined me after a big "Hi!" with a burst of joy in her voice.

The Viet Kieu drove us to the Ben Thanh Hotel, formerly the "Rex" and a hangout for American GIs. We were in the heart of Saigon, only a couple of blocks from the Ben Thanh Market, the docks, the Catholic Cathedral. The streets were much cleaner than I re-

membered, and the traffic signs were no longer in English. There were no beer cans piled in the gutters, or arrogant American soldiers swaggering through the markets and loitering on the corners.

During our stay in Ho Chi Minh City, we visited the No. 2 Children's Hospital. It is a very special hospital that receives patients under fifteen years of age from the city and from outlying districts as far away as Vung Tau (twenty-eight miles away). It also conducts research to help improve the nutrition of children, given the scarcities still facing Vietnam. We visited twenty-eight severely malnourished children there, mostly infants whose mothers could not nurse them.

One aspect of the U.S. trade ban against Vietnam is the "milk embargo." Washington has also pressured the European Common Market countries to halt shipments of surplus milk to Vietnam. As a result, substitutes for mothers' milk are very hard to get in Vietnam. Nutritionists at the hospital are researching ways to replace milk protein with soy protein in infant formula, even as they care for these withered little victims of "superpower" politics.

While in Ho Chi Minh City, we also visited the Sinco Sewing Machine Works, the War Museum, the Fine Arts Museum, and many friends and relatives of friends. We could go wherever we wished, and no one accompanied us.

I felt very self-conscious, wandering through the streets with Anna, who was obviously not Vietnamese. Her reddish hair and blue eyes drew crowds of curious children, certain that she must be a Russian woman. I'd tell them that she was an American, but they couldn't believe it.

Finally, Anna would try saying, "Hello, how are you?" in English. Those who had studied English in school would be convinced. None of these kids knew any of the pidgin English, or the vividly profane "American" vocabulary of the Saigon street kids that I remembered; this was a whole new generation of children. In Hanoi, the children were just as interested in Anna, but much more polite; only one or two dared to come up and touch her long bright hair.

The way the Vietnamese people interacted with foreigners filled me with pride. They dealt with Anna on a friendly, curious, and equal basis. They behaved as if they were saying, "We own

the place now." They are indeed its masters.

During the U.S. war, I felt like a foreigner in my own country. I saw my people suffer, without recourse, from the arrogant behavior of American soldiers and officials. I was ashamed to see Vietnamese hustling to gratify every whim and desire of loutish GIs with money to spend.

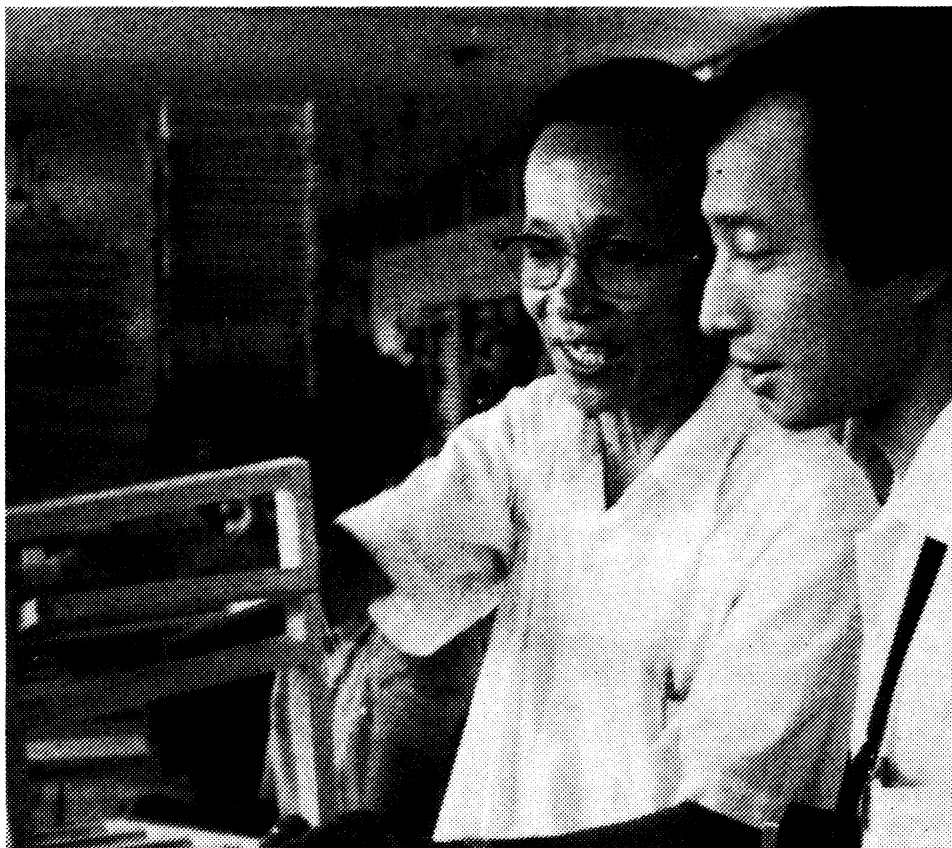
Yet, during our stay in Ho Chi Minh City, our journey to Nha Trang, Da Nang, Hue, and our final week in Hanoi, I felt no hostility toward my fiancée. When people found out that Anna was American, they were pleased — and a little surprised — that an American could, or would, come to Vietnam, now that it's a socialist country.

I pressed a neighbor of my family in Nha Trang about the reason for this rather remarkable attitude. "Well, she is your fiancée, after all," he replied, teasing me. But he was serious when he said, "We know that the American people and the American government are different things. We know there are progressive Americans, so don't worry about her!"

During my two months in Vietnam, I didn't see many foreigners. Previously, the Americans' olive-drab uniforms crowded cafés, beaches, bars, cinemas, stores . . . Now, here and there, one sees a knot of Russians, Cubans, or East Europeans; but almost all of them look like civilians, and maybe a third of them are women.

I was surprised that the largest group of foreigners we saw was Kampuchean. Aside from the Khmer students staying over in Hanoi before being flown out to study in the Soviet Union or Eastern Europe, there were Kampuchean truck convoys on Highway One, full of provisions or passengers. The little Vietnamese kids playing by the roadside would spot the Khmer writing on the trucks and yell "Kam-pu-che-a! Kam-pu-che-a!" clapping their hands and cheering as the Kampucheans applauded in response.

I was amazed, remembering how bitter my fellow South Vietnamese had been following the massacres of Vietnamese citizens of Cambodia in 1970 by the rightist, U.S.-backed Lon Nol regime. I was able to talk to the Khmer students in Saigon and Hanoi in my inadequate French, but when some Kampuchean truck drivers came into my father's shop in Nha Trang to buy soccer

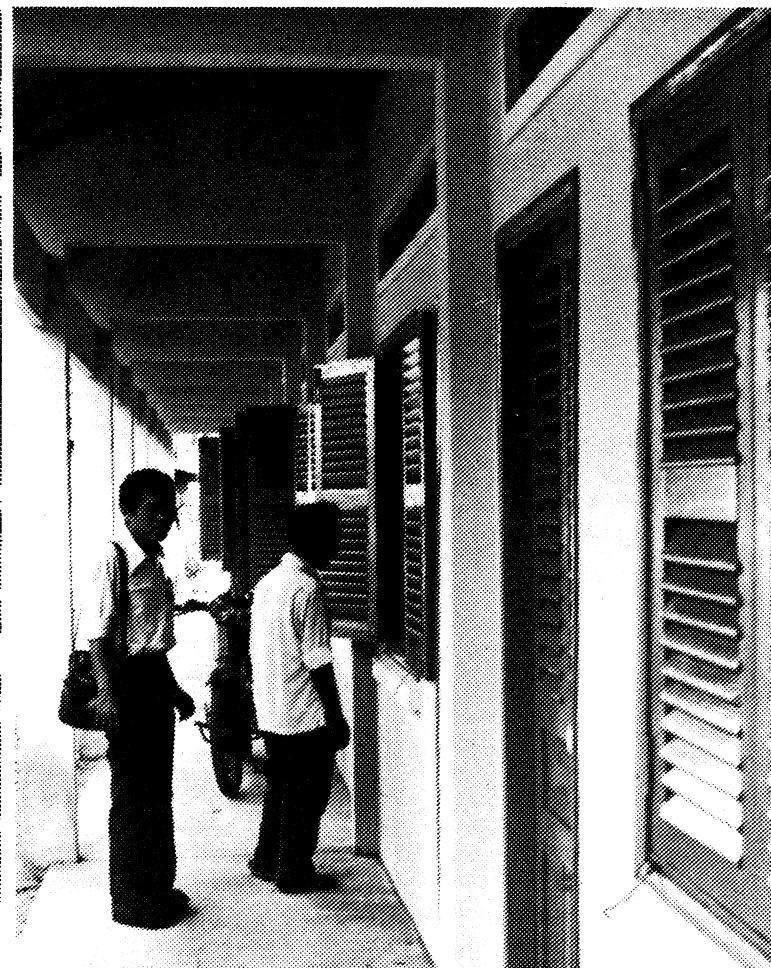


Left: assistant director at Sinco Sewing Machine factory shows the author a chair that workers made from scrap wood. Furniture like this is sold and the proceeds are divided among workers. Right: with children at War Museum, which chronicles Vietnamese liberation struggle, from French colonialism to war with United States.

Photos on this and facing page by Anna Bradley and Pham Thai



Left: one of thatched huts in which workers at Le Minh Xuan state farm lived before new housing was built. New housing is seen at right.



balls, we had to communicate with gestures and smiles. I was told that when Kampuchians want to travel north and south in Kampuchea, they find it easier to go east into Vietnam, then use our paved highways to go north or south; and finally back west. This is a roundabout way, but their own roads are still hopeless quagmires during the rainy season.

Soviet bases?

As long as I'm on the subject of foreigners in Vietnam, I should say that the stories about "Soviet bases" in Vietnam are lies. We passed through the coastal town of Cam Ranh, and my home town is only about six miles away. We saw no Russians in either place, no Russian ships in Cam Ranh Bay, or from the shore, and no special precautions were taken to keep us from seeing Russians. When Cam Ranh was a big American naval base, it would have been impossible to conceal the Americans, even if the effort had been made.

We also used the airfield at Da Nang to fly to Hanoi. We watched MIGs take off on training flights for a couple of hours, but the ground crews, pilots, and everybody on base were Vietnamese. Anna told me that when she flew from Bangkok to Hong Kong during her return flight, the Pan Am pilot advised the passengers to look to their left for a great view of Da Nang and the Da Nang Air Base. So where are these "Soviet bases" supposed to be? Why hasn't anyone come with photographs of them?

'Prosperity' and poverty

Of course, Ho Chi Minh City did not look as "prosperous" as I remembered Saigon, despite its hustle and bustle. Before, there were more cars and motorcycles. Gasoline used to be cheap, and consumer goods were easily imported from abroad. The fashions were the same as in New York, the car models the same as Detroit. But it was an artificial "prosperity," underwritten by the Americans and their money.

People have had a hard time adjusting to Vietnam's present "real" poverty. Vietnam never had to produce what it consumed before. Now it must, and the progress is slow.

Before, many Saigonese, many Vietnamese, could immerse themselves in that consumer-oriented, not producer-oriented, society and forget that others of their countrymen were being killed and maimed every day, while still others were being herded into "strategic hamlets" or Saigon's reeking slums. Now the Saigonese complain that they must share poverty.

But Vietnam's hardships are, indeed, shared. The poorest are not so far from the richest. In Vietnam, I didn't hear

people say, "I am poor." They said, "Vietnam is poor."

Gasoline was in critically short supply, three dollars a liter for state agencies, nine dollars for private purchases. People used bicycles, the "cyclos" (pedicabs) or got around on foot.

On the other hand, we didn't see outright misery. Beggars were no more numerous than in New York City, and a phenomenon such as the South Bronx, with its acres of rubble, would be unthinkable in Vietnam — even in bombed Vietnam. Hanoi looks remarka-

bly intact. A neighborhood flattened in 1971 is, to all appearances, whole and thriving. The only outward signs of the devastation are the construction dates proudly molded in concrete over the front doors; none predate 1973.

I had been prepared for much worse, from the American media and from the accounts of the "refugees" I had talked to. It is true that Vietnam's visions of postwar peace and prosperity were cruelly dimmed by the attitude of the U.S. government since 1975, by the conflict with Pol Pot's Kampuchea, and, most of all, by the policies of China. The

years 1978 and 1979 were particularly hard ones for Vietnam, the years when the cut-off of Chinese aid and trade had its most destructive impact. And the unnecessary privation and suffering caused by the aid and trade embargo engineered by Washington were evident everywhere.

Somehow, however, the Vietnamese have adapted to their straitened circumstances, and, virtually alone, have begun to overcome the obstacles facing them. My visit to my native land, despite everything, was a heartening experience.

U.S. workers tour Cuba rail system

The Militant and Perspectiva Mundial sponsor regular tours to Cuba, Nicaragua, and Grenada. February 14-21 a group of rail workers visited Cuba with a special emphasis on the rail industry in Cuba. At the same time a miners' tour took place. The following is a report of the rail tour.

**BY JIM LITTLE
AND DICK ROBERTS**

What struck us most on our recent trip to Cuba was that the Cuban railway system is being improved and making big progress in safety and working conditions. This is done as a unified social process in which the unions, the government, and the government-owned enterprises all work together.

In our week-long tour of Cuba we met with railroad officials, station chiefs, brakemen, switchmen, motormen, ticket clerks, tower operators, and coach cleaners. And they all told the same story about the progress on the Cuban line, which is in sharp contrast to what's happening on railroads in the United States.

A meeting with top-level officials in Havana informed us of the achievements and plans to upgrade the railroad. We met with José Rodríguez Camilo, Chief of the Department of Supervision and Audit; Francisco Posada Medio, Chief of Stations; and Sebastian Rodríguez Benemalíz, Chief of the Department of Travel, Occidental Railroad Division.

We met in what was obviously once a board room of the railroad, when it was privately owned. The rail officials told us of the progress that had been made since the revolution. They explained that railroads provide cheaper transportation which helps the whole economy. The main goal has been to upgrade existing routes. Greater safety and speed is emphasized.

While most of the passenger equip-

ment is quite dated, they have shortened the travel time and made rail passenger travel more comfortable. For example they've cut travel time from Havana to Santiago from seventeen hours to twelve hours. Air conditioned trains now travel on long routes.

The number of passengers has steadily increased, and 1980-81 marked a 2 million jump in passengers. Some areas showed greater progress. The station master at Matanzas explained that in that province there had been a 50 percent increase in overall rail service since 1959. Meanwhile the price of passenger service has remained basically the same as it was before the revolution.

The workers' standards and safety are not sacrificed for progress. Everyone we talked to agreed that conditions for railroaders had improved tremendously since the revolution. The workers recounted that on-the-road conditions were deplorable before the revolution. When housing was available for workers away from home, it was made of rotting rail ties. Workers had to buy their own food. One Cuban rail worker said, "Before it was almost inhuman, workers were like nomads. Nowadays we're human beings."

There has been a 50 percent increase in railroad employment since the revolution. Every brigade of on-the-road workers has their own dining room, the housing is equipped with refrigerators and TVs. Wages are enough to live on, and there is sick pay, injury-on-duty pay, paid vacations, and higher pay rates for night work.

All this has been achieved with the utmost cooperation between the workers and the government. All the people who work for the railroad, even the officials, are in the same union. The bus and airline workers are in the same union also. Work conditions, safety, and railroad expansion and improvement are all discussed collectively. Individual conductors and

brakemen that we talked with felt that they had a say in how the railroad was run. Everyone felt responsible for all aspects of the operations whether it was safety or efficiency.

One example illustrated this well. We met a group of workers in Cienfuegos. There was a conductor and several brakemen — called auxiliary conductors. We explained how in the United States seniority determined who on the crew was conductor. They all said with pride that in Cuba the most qualified is the conductor. This would be impossible in the States, but in Cuba, since the workers obviously decide the criteria for who is best qualified, they are happy with and proud of their system.

Other information that we learned was that the U.S. blockade of Cuba inhibits the development of the railroad. All rails, for example, have to be imported. Since they can't buy them from U.S. manufacturers, they pay much more. They get equipment from all over the world — locomotives from the Soviet Union, freight cars from Rumania, and passenger cars from Argentina. They do make railroad ties and even export them. There is an impressive locomotive repair and reconditioning plant in the center of Havana.

In a discussion among the railroaders from the United States who went on the tour we couldn't help comparing the present crisis in U.S. railroading with the progress in Cuba. To be sure the equipment in Cuba is very old and the system reflects the limitations of an underdeveloped and poor country. We felt though that they do miraculously well with what they have.

Jim Little is a brakeman furloughed off the Southern Pacific and a member of United Transportation Union Local 240. Dick Roberts is furloughed off the Union Pacific and is a member of the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks.

'National security' drive against the unions

Where it comes from, what it is today

BY JOHN STUDER

Unionists from Atlanta to St. Louis, from Newport News, Virginia, to San Jose, California, are being harassed and fired because of their activity in the labor movement and their political affiliations.

These victimizations have begun in plants with military contracts. Pentagon connections subject workers to a federal antilabor spy agency — the Defense Investigative Service (DIS). DIS collaborates with Pentagon contractors to identify union militants and find ways to fire them. It is aided by plant security forces, the FBI, private labor-spy firms, and other government "red squads."

Government's scare campaign

The government and the employers have centered their antilabor drive in these plants in order to tie it into their preparations for new wars abroad. Escalating threats of military intervention in Central America are combined with increasingly shrill warnings about spies and foreign "hit squads."

Their aim is to launch a national "red scare." First they clamor about the threat of foreign "terrorists." Then they

ting management to report all militants on the shop floor to their security office for further investigation.

The "Notes" state, "All managerial personnel are reminded of their continuing responsibility to advise the Security Office of information coming to their attention concerning any employee holding a security clearance (or who is in the process of being cleared) which indicates that access to classified material may be questionable or not be in the interest of national security."

In 1981 McDonnell Douglas, the giant aircraft company, published a booklet entitled "Counterintelligence Awareness Briefing." Its aim is to intimidate, to breed an atmosphere of suspicion of your fellow unionists. It demands that workers pledge unquestioning allegiance to U.S. foreign policy.

In Dallas, the Vought Corporation distributes a "security handbook." It tells workers, "Don't fail to report any knowledge of espionage, sabotage, subversive activity, trespassers or suspicious persons" in the plant or among your co-workers.

Is it "subversive" if a union local votes to protest U.S. intervention in El Salvador? Is someone "trespassing" if they

people. It keeps a set of fingerprints on everyone who has ever applied for a security clearance.

Anyone whose "loyalty" is questioned by their company or an anonymous informer is a target for investigation. The company can just send a letter to DIS questioning the loyalty of any worker. This triggers a nationwide investigation.

These inquisitions are carried out to see if it is "clearly consistent with the national interest" for you to hold your job. The entire program is written to put the burden on workers to justify why they should have the right to have a job.

A December 20, 1976, Department of Defense directive, "Industrial Personnel Security Clearance Program," lists fourteen "criteria for determining eligibility for a clearance." Workers are out of a job if they "seek to alter the form of Government of the United States by force or violence or by other unconstitutional means."

On the eve of World War II, eighteen leaders of Minneapolis Teamsters Local 544 and the Socialist Workers Party were found guilty of "conspiring to advocate the overthrow of the U.S. government." These were the first convictions under the notorious Smith Act, which sought to proscribe political thought and speech. The real basis for the charges was their opposition to World War II and their militant leadership of the Teamsters union.

During the late 1940s and '50s, dozens of Communist Party leaders and union officials were victimized under the same thought-control law to fuel the postwar witch-hunt.

Speaking out about one's political views, and advocating militant union defense of workers rights, have since been ruled legal by the courts time and time again.

Nevertheless, "criteria" such as this continue to be used by the government to attack unionists, socialists, and other political activists.

The Pentagon's interpretation of these criteria, and what factors they use to determine if someone is covered by them, are their private domain.

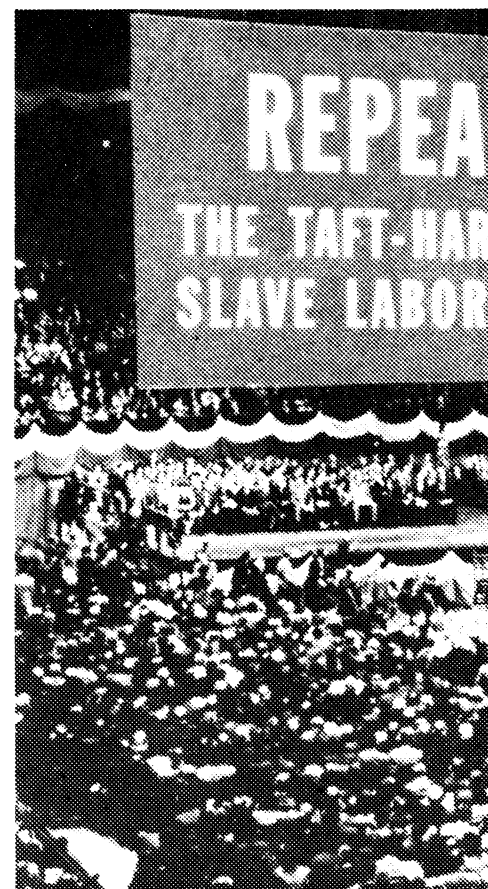
'Informer privilege'

Other criteria used to deny clearance and employment include: "deliberate misrepresentations, falsifications or omissions of material facts from a personnel security questionnaire"; any "dishonest conduct"; any "sexual perversion"; any "conduct of a reckless nature"; any "mental condition"; "the presence of a close relative, friend or associate in a nation whose interests may be inimical to the interests of the United States"; "financial difficulties"; "refusal by the applicant, without satisfactory explanation, to answer questions before a congressional committee"; "use of intoxicants" or "drug addiction."

It is a pretty sweeping list if they want to get you.

After DIS "investigates" you, they make a recommendation to a Pentagon screening board as to whether you are acceptable. As soon as this board decides that you are not, your company can immediately suspend or fire you. You have the right to appeal, but only to a kangaroo court.

The Pentagon appoints the hearing examiner, the Pentagon presents the case against you, and if you don't like the decision, you go before a Pentagon appeals board for final review.



Taft-Hartley Act was among antilabor 1947 strike of East Coast shipyard workers

If they claim it would in any way endanger the "national interest," they don't have to tell you who is making the charges against you, exactly what they are, or what weight they give to them.

"Informer privilege," the argument they use to keep from revealing the names of finks who spy on you — because then they would not be able to spy on others — is written into the DIS guidelines.

After all this, if the government and the employer are still not confident they can revoke your clearance and fire you explicitly because of your political views, or are hindered because your contract protects your union activities, they can go after you on a phony pretext.

The use of phony pretexts

They have written books on how to do this. In 1952, the National Industrial Conference Board, an employers' organization, wrote a lengthy booklet telling companies how to deal with "security" cases.

"Where the union is cooperative or where there is no union, companies report that the best thing to do is to fire men of questionable loyalty. Communist affiliation is rarely used as the premise since this may be difficult, if not impossible, to prove legally. Instead, an infraction of company rules, submission of a false employment application, or failure to perform work satisfactorily are generally bases of dismissal."

The book goes on to complain that "some companies report, however, that 'Commies can be awfully good and conscientious workers when the heat is on.'"

"Security personnel maintain, however, that in the long run, with vigilance and careful 'bookkeeping' of the actions, comings and goings, absences, vacation leaves and any violations of these or other company rules, management will be able to get rid of some of its security risks."

This advice is being scrupulously followed by employers today. In the last year, they have diligently found pretexts to fire unionists in plants all across the country. Every firing they get away with emboldens them to go after more.

They are starting with socialists. They aim to get every unionist that questions their policies or their cutbacks.

Postwar witch-hunt

Immediately following World War II, America's rulers confronted deep anti-capitalist ferment in Europe, spreading colonial revolution, and a growing labor upsurge here at home. The remaining U.S. troops in Europe and the Pacific mobilized massive demonstrations demanding to be brought home.



ASSAULT ON LABOR'S POLITICAL RIGHTS-II

plan to go after anyone who raises their voice against the government or the company here at home.

At the same time, Secretary of State Alexander Haig tells the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that Washington will use "whatever is necessary" — even troops — in El Salvador. The administration is eliminating formal restrictions on the CIA and FBI. New congressional committees are being set up in Washington to investigate "terrorism."

This government campaign aims to tie in the drive for war abroad with the need to intimidate and muzzle workers at home.

It strikes at the right and ability of the labor movement to participate in the growing opposition to Reagan's war drive.

This government propaganda is being complemented by a corporate offensive to strengthen "national security" measures in major plants holding contracts with the Pentagon.

The November 23, 1981, *Newsweek* reports that the administration has moved to mount "an updated version of the old 'loose lips sink ships' campaign among the high-technology companies of California's Silicon Valley." The government is striving to set up model campaigns of intimidation and victimization in this area first, because the workers in almost all of these plants do not have union representation and protection.

On January 7, 1982, General Electric in Lynn, Massachusetts, distributed a "Notes for Supervisors" aimed at get-

ting management to report all militants on the shop floor to their security office for further investigation.

The aim of these publications, and the entire propaganda drive, is to justify spying on the unions and victimizing militant workers. It has nothing to do with so-called "national security."

Unions must be free to discuss

The union movement must be free to discuss the scope of the rulers' offensive. It must be able to chart a bold, new course to defend our standard of living and to prevent new wars.

This will be impossible if the labor movement is smothered by the employers' cops — spying on meetings and fingering activists for victimization.

What Reagan and his corporate cronies want is the "security" to be able to increase profits at the expense of the vast majority. And they want to do it without fear of union response. They want "security" to send thousands of troops into El Salvador without fear of public protest.

If you oppose this drive, you are a "security risk."

Labeling union militants as "subversives," to isolate them from their fellow workers and drive them out of the plants, is the oldest antilabor trick in the employers' book.

"Security" investigations are carried out by the Defense Investigative Service. DIS maintains files on millions of



Measures passed by government during post-World War II witch-hunt. Drive was meant, among other things, to quell massive strike wave that followed war. Right: ers.

The rulers mapped out drastic steps to meet this threat to their profits and world domination.

The cold war was launched. The wartime alliance with the Soviet Union was broken. Efforts were made to send American GIs into the raging civil war in China. The U.S. collaborated with Britain and France to use all necessary military force to halt workers and farmers rebellions from Vietnam to Greece.

At the same time, a ferocious propaganda drive was launched at home to smash any resistance to new wars and to halt the postwar strike wave. The centerpiece of this drive was anticommunist hysteria. They opened the witch-hunt.

Most workers today have only a vague memory of the witch-hunt and McCarthyism. Perhaps they've heard of the blacklisting of Hollywood writers and actors, or of the cold-blooded execution of the Rosenbergs.

These were horrible crimes. They helped whip up an atmosphere of fear. But the number one target of the witch-hunt was always the labor movement.

In 1947, President Truman announced Executive Order 9835, which established the federal "Loyalty Program" and the notorious "Attorney General's List." Federal employees were required to fill out "loyalty" questionnaires and to undergo investigation to screen their political views and organizational affiliations.

Attorney General's List

The Attorney General's List grew to contain 283 organizations that the rulers deemed "subversive." It included political parties, defense committees for framed-up labor leaders, civil rights organizations, and others. Employee questionnaires and the results of subsequent investigations were then checked against the list. Purges were then launched in every government department.

Organizations named on the list were given no opportunity to dispute their listing. There were no hearings. If the government didn't like your ideas, they put you on the list. And there was no way you could get off.

The Socialist Workers Party vigorously protested its inclusion on the list, and the list itself. The SWP demanded its right to a hearing. It demanded to see what evidence the government based the listing on. It demanded a chance to challenge this evidence. The government refused.

If an investigation linked a worker with any group on the list, this was enough to take away their job.

One of the first victims of Truman's "loyalty" purge was James Kutcher, a

World War II veteran who had lost both his legs. He was fired from his job as a clerk for the Veterans Administration. He was considered a "security risk" because he acknowledged membership in the Socialist Workers Party.

Kutcher was reinstated at his job in 1956, but only after an eight-year civil liberties fight that won the backing of unions representing several million members.

Within a few short months of Truman's institution of the "loyalty" review program, the government set up the Industrial Personnel Security Program. This extended the purge from government employees to private industry.

Army brass began to move into private plants and secure summary dismissals of workers they designated "bad security risks." In many instances, those fingered as risks were active union shop stewards and grievance committeemen whom the corporations had previously spotted as "troublemakers."

Program extended to 21,000 plants

Millions of machinists, steelworkers, electricians, and other workers were handed questionnaires to fill out and were fingerprinted. Investigations were launched. The program was extended to more than 21,000 plants. In the first decade of the Industrial Personnel Security Program, more than 5,000 workers had their clearances yanked.

Throughout the late 1940s and the 1950s, this program grew. The purge grew.

In his book on the witch-hunt, *The Great Fear*, David Caute gives a number of examples of how the program worked. One example is: "In October 1954 the Director of Security of Republic Aviation, Farmingdale, Long Island, wrote in *Factory Management and Maintenance* that his company had fired 250 workers as security risks.

Loyalty programs similar to those the Pentagon ran — but without even the slightest pretense of legality — were set up in hundreds of plants with no military contracts. The employers strove to establish their right to dig into the personal and political history of their workers.

This witch-hunt of unionists was accompanied by additional unconstitutional legislation. The Taft-Hartley Act, Internal Security Act, Public Law 733, McCarran-Walter Immigration Act, and the Communist Control Law — along with the House Un-American Activities Committee inquisitions — spread the purge far and wide. They deepened government intervention in the union movement.

When it was introduced the purge was

met with a wave of protest from within the labor movement. But as the misleaders of labor parroted the government's cold war foreign policy, they adopted the "national security" purge. They saw the red scare as an opportunity to eliminate their radical opponents inside the unions, and to curry favor with the Democratic Party.

So the whole process was pushed through by agreement with the labor officialdom. Unions were raided and split.

Local unions that fought the introduction of the "loyalty" purge were pressured by their international officers. An article in the January 9, 1950, *Militant*, reported that Walter Reuther, president of the Auto Workers union, urged UAW Local 669 at the Wright Aeronautical Corporation plant in Paterson, New Jersey, to sign a contract granting the company power to fire alleged "subversives" and "poor security risks." Previously, this local — like many others — had fought against all such attempts of the employer to interfere with the union and its members.

The *Militant* reported that then, as now, "as the purge has operated in a number of cases already, the main victims have been militant unionists and strike leaders."

The article pointed to Reuther's actions as "an open invitation to corporations throughout the auto, aircraft and other major industries to demand similar contracts. It places the seal of the leader of the largest union in the CIO upon the extension of Truman's 'loyalty' purge into private industry."

Locals that wouldn't buckle to the pressure got short shrift. If they were forced on strike they got no help from the international. The staff members wouldn't handle their grievances. International officers would red-bait the local leaders. Mouthpieces for the witch-hunt would be put forward against the local officers in the next election.

The CIO's internal cold war reached its climax at the Eleventh Constitutional Convention in 1949. Witch-hunt measures were adopted which led to the expulsion of ten national unions, including the United Electrical Workers and the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union.

Belated protests

But even the labor officialdom had to speak out against the worst anti-union uses of the "loyalty" program by the bosses. At the same convention of the CIO where the purge was carried through, a resolution was passed that said, "Loyalty and security investigations and dismissals . . . impair the morale of all workers in the plants, interfere with their union organizing activi-

ties and threaten their right to be effectively represented in the processing of grievances and in collective bargaining by shop stewards and union officers of their own choosing."

After the merger of the AFL and the CIO in 1955, the newly created AFL-CIO Industrial Union Department put out a "Handbook on the Industrial Security Program." This publication pointed out, "In the hands of an anti-labor employer, the power to carry on programs of 'confidential' screening could easily be used to deny to workers their rights of self-organization and for other denial of fundamental civil liberties."

These belated protests against so-called abuses of the Industrial Personnel Security Program were far from adequate to halt the government witch-hunt. Thousands of union militants were fired. The best of the generation that built the CIO in the struggles of the 1930s and the postwar strike wave were driven out of the plants.

Program continues today

The constitutionality of the entire "security clearance" program for victimizing unionists was never seriously tested. Because they agreed with its underlying political premise, the international unions with the funds and clout to fight it out never did so.

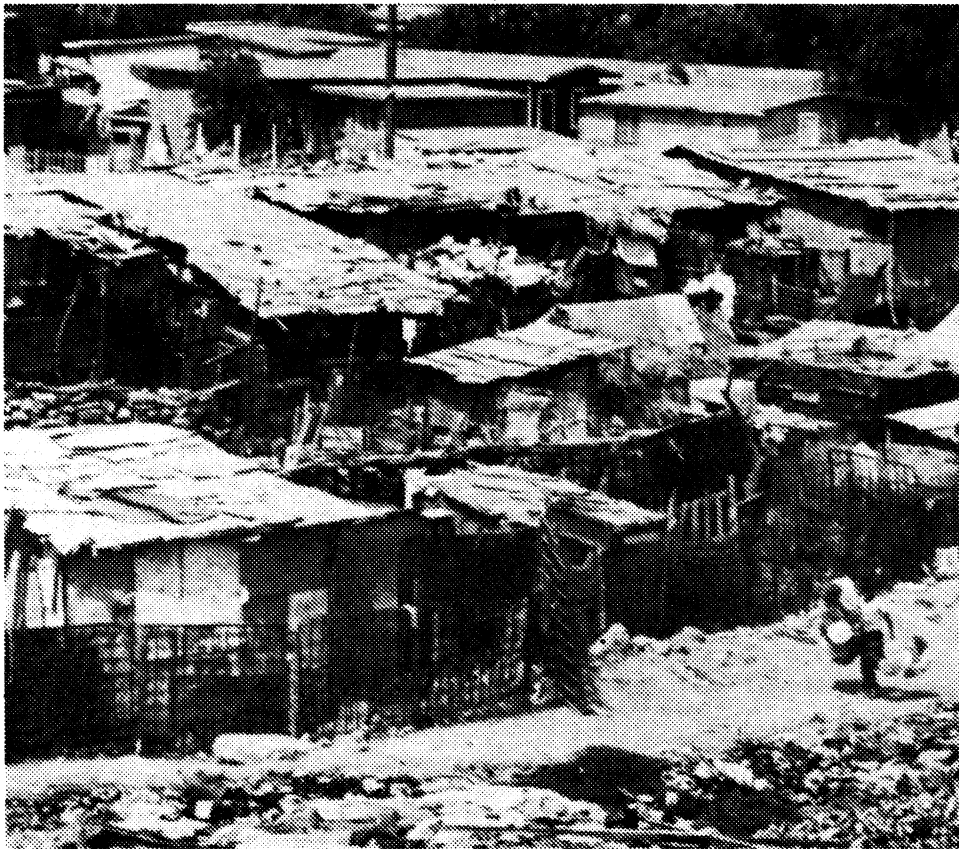
Other legal challenges, brought by individual victims of the program, were unable to get at the heart of the program. The legality of using membership in or association with alleged "subversive" groups as the criterion for a worker's right to a job was never tested. The deliberate violations of your right to confront your accuser, to see and answer all the evidence brought against you, were never ruled upon by the courts.

It was not until 1974, in the wake of Watergate, and under the pressure of a historic lawsuit filed by the SWP and the Young Socialist Alliance against the FBI, CIA, and other spy agencies, that the Attorney General's List was dropped.

Because the list no longer exists, the criteria for investigating unionists, denying their clearances, and firing them, are even more vague and illegal today. But the Industrial Personnel Security Program remains in place.

And the employers and the Pentagon are beginning to use it once again. They are going after a new generation of unionists. As workers are compelled to grapple with the Democrats' and Republicans' bipartisan drive toward war abroad and takebacks at home, they run smack into the spying, blacklisting, and victimization apparatus of the Defense Investigative Service and the employers.

Recession spreads unemployment and austerity across the globe



Mexican slum. Devaluation of peso in that country unloads even greater suffering on the poor.

BY WILLIAM GOTTLIEB

The worsening recession in the United States — already in many ways the worst since the 1930s — is part of a world-wide recession. It is occurring just five years after the world recession of 1974-75 — the most generalized since World War II. The fact that only a few years separate these two global, cyclical capitalist economic crises indicates the depth of the historic crisis facing the capitalist system — a crisis with devastating effects on hundreds of millions of working people throughout the world.

Western Europe hit hard

Western Europe has been severely affected. Overall industrial production was 2.5 percent less in 1981 in the countries belonging to the European Common Market than it was in 1980. Official unemployment in Western Europe is expected to be around 10 percent next year. As in the United States, the bosses and their governments are trying to unload the weight of this crisis onto the shoulders of working people through cuts in social spending.

The hardest hit country in Western Europe has been Britain. Between 1979 and 1981 industrial production experienced one of the biggest declines ever recorded in the history of British capitalism. Unemployment is officially around 3 million, or 11.7 percent, of the work force. Inflation is still running at about 12 percent.

On top of that, social benefits won by workers in previous struggles and the rights of the trade unions are under attack by Margaret Thatcher's Tory government.

Even the most optimistic economic experts in ruling circles agree that any upturn in the British business cycle will be extraordinarily weak. Unemployment is expected to continue its upward climb in any event. Thus, for the British workers no end of the depression is in sight.

British capitalism is paying the bills of history that are finally falling due. Having been the first country to industrialize, Britain has one of the oldest and least efficient industries among the imperialist powers. Once British industry dominated the markets of the world. But over the years it has progressively lost markets to its more efficient imperialist competitors.

As long as the world market was expanding, British industry could still grow, though at a pace considerably

slower than that of its competitors. But any stagnation on the world market is a disaster for Britain. World recession means depression in Britain.

Germany and France

West Germany's industry, which is newer and more efficient, has not been hit as hard as Britain. But it has not escaped. Unemployment is approaching the 2 million figure. It is now higher than at any time since 1953, when Germany was still recovering from the devastating effects of World War II. Industrial production is declining, and no definite recovery is yet in sight.

The situation is somewhat different in France, imperialist Europe's other major industrial power. France was hit by recession in 1980 and unemployment has officially reached 8.9 percent of the work force. However, unlike other capitalist governments, the French government of François Mitterrand is following a stimulative economic policy. The government is expanding the growth in the money supply and is restoring some of the cuts that were made in social spending by the previous government. As a result industrial production is rising, and unemployment is expected to fall slightly.

Mitterrand's big gamble

Mitterrand is gambling on a world-wide economic upturn. If this does not materialize soon, France's already considerable balance of trade deficit will grow. The French franc will fall more and more on world money markets, accelerating inflation in France. This would end with a new descent into recession and austerity. The French business cycle cannot long diverge from the world business cycle.

In order to buy time the Mitterrand government is trying to shelter France as much as possible from the world economy. The result has been a growing tendency toward French protectionism that threatens the Common Market, the twenty-five-year-old European free trade zone.

The rest of Western Europe also remains in the grip of recession. Even in Sweden, where unemployment remains relatively low, industrial production has been declining. In Italy unemployment is approaching the double-digit range while inflation remains near 20 percent. Belgium is a disaster area with double digit unemployment. Spain suffers from both double digit inflation and double digit unemployment.

Japan is also feeling the effects of the global recession. The rate of increase of industrial production has slowed considerably. And while unemployment is still relatively low, compared to its imperialist competitors, it has begun to rise. The Japanese government has adopted the most austere budget in twenty-six years.

However, Japan has been able to cushion the effects of the worldwide recession primarily through its ability to increase exports.

Japan is in many ways in a situation opposite to that of Britain. It was the last imperialist country to become industrialized. In addition, much of Japanese industry was destroyed during World War II forcing Japanese corporations to rebuild plants.

Wages of Japanese workers remain well below the level of Western European or American workers. There are few governmental social programs. Workers are forced to save over 20 percent of their income as a reserve for retirement and medical costs. Japanese business, therefore, has had plenty of profits to invest in the construction of modern industries.

On top of all this, Japan has spent relatively little on arms. While in West Germany, Britain, and especially the United States, funds that could have gone into modernizing and building factories went into military spending, Japan was building new modern factories.

Thus Japan finds itself in a position to keep expanding its economy in the midst of the current worldwide recession — although at a greatly reduced rate — by taking away markets from its imperialist competitors.

Protectionist pressures

The United States ran a trade deficit with Japan of \$18.1 billion for 1981. At Washington's insistence Japan removed sixty-seven nontariff barriers to imports.

This, however, does not go to the heart of the problem, since Japan's highly favorable trade balance with the United States reflects not Japanese protectionism so much as the greater productivity of many branches of Japanese industry.

European capitalism is even more concerned about Japanese competition. Most European countries are enforcing quotas against Japanese cars and consumer electronics products. As a result Japanese exports of cars to Western Europe were 25 percent less at the end of 1981 than they were a year earlier.

This is just part of a recession-spawned trend toward greater protectionism.

For example, in January seven U.S. steel companies filed for import relief against eleven European, African, and South American countries. Economic nationalism is on the rise in Canada, much to Washington's dismay. Many capitalist circles are concerned that such protectionist moves could degenerate into a full-scale trade war. Such a trade war would be potentially even more disastrous than it was in the 1930s, since the world economy is much more interdependent than it was then.

Semicolonial countries

Bad as the effects of the recession have been on the workers and farmers of the imperialist countries, the effects on the toilers of the semicolonial world have been far worse. The International Labor Organization calculated that 455 million people in the countries oppressed by imperialism were either totally or partially unemployed. That comes to 43 percent of the working-age population. And in the underdeveloped capitalist countries, there are few if any cushions. It is estimated that 800 million people face hunger in the semicolonial world.

Conditions are worsening as the world recession lowers prices of raw materials that the underdeveloped countries export, while the price of the manufactured goods they buy from the imperialist countries continues to increase. Even the oil-producing countries, which have done better than other semicolonial countries, are suffering from decreasing oil prices and sales. Throughout the semicolonial world the terrible weight of debts owed to the imperialist banks and governments is getting heavier.

Even the more industrialized semicolonial countries like Argentina, Brazil, and Chile are in deep trouble.

For example, Argentina entered a severe financial crisis in 1981. The peso fell rapidly against the dollar. This sent inflation soaring at a rate of 130 percent a year. Some sources put unemployment as high as 12 percent. The military dictatorship has frozen the level of payments to 1.8 million state workers, and 2.6 million pensioners. These measures, along with the reduction in the printing of paper money, will mean a further sharp rise in unemployment.

Mexico as the exception

One Latin American country which managed to escape recession in 1981 was Mexico.

But this "prosperity" turned out to be illusionary. Except for oil, Mexican exports stagnated. The peso's exchange rate and the level of economic activity were maintained only through liquidation of Mexico's foreign currency reserves. The money finally ran out, and on February 17 the Mexican government withdrew support from the peso. It promptly plunged 30 percent against the dollar. This means a sharp increase in the cost of imported goods in terms of pesos. It will also tend to lower the prices of Mexican exports in terms of dollars on the world market.

The devaluation of the peso will force Mexican capitalists to sell more on the world market just to get the dollars and other currencies they need to pay off their debts to the imperialist banks. This draining of commodities from the Mexican market will further drive up peso prices in Mexico. As a result the workers and peasants are suffering a severe drop in their living standards.

The Mexican government, fearing these consequences, put off devaluation to the last possible moment. As a result it faces the danger of runaway devaluation that could wreck the economy.

In order to stave off this danger the Mexican government announced an austerity program that will slash the budget approved by the Mexican congress by 3 percent. The workers and peasants will pay the bill for the world recession and the government's financial policies.

1.5 million families to lose gas, electric

According to a report by the Citizen/Labor Energy Coalition, more than 1.5 million American households will have their gas or electric utilities cut off this year because of inability to pay the bills.

With inflation distorting wages and prices, it is often hard to compare actual cost over time. *U.S. News & World Report* prepared a chart that compared the costs of consumer goods and services between 1971 and 1981 based on hours of work as opposed to dollars.

According to that chart, utility bills have almost doubled in the last ten years. In 1971, a month's electric bill took a manufacturing worker's pay for four hours and twenty-three minutes. In 1981 it took seven hours' work. A one-month gas bill went from three hours and twenty-three minutes to six hours.

IRA: gov't pushes self-help pension plans

BY HARRY RING

"Your \$2,000 can grow to more than \$1,500,000."

Full-page ads featuring such beckoning offers have been blossoming all over the country.

Sign up for an Individual Retirement Account (IRA), salt away as much as \$2,000 a year, and retire on easy street.

But the real message is: Start saving now for your old age. There may not be a Social Security system around when you retire.

However, not to worry. A generous government has now made it possible for you to solve the old-age problem on your own.

If you skip the fine print, IRA sounds enticing — assuming you're working fairly steadily and are making enough to put away up to \$40 a week and not touch it until you pass age fifty-nine.

Previously, a more restricted version of the IRA existed for business people and others not covered by either a government or private pension plan.

The current, more liberalized IRA approved by Congress last year, is available to all who think they can afford it.

Just bet your money

Just choose your retirement account. It can be with a bank, an insurance fund, a savings and loan company, a mutual fund, or a money market fund. (They make short-term, high-interest loans to business, banks and government.)

The money you put into an IRA is not included in your taxable income. Nor is the interest it earns.

Theoretically, you go merrily along, accumulating your high-interest bundle until age fifty-nine-and-a-half. Between then and age seventy-and-a-half, you withdraw the money for your retirement.

At that point, you begin paying income tax on the money withdrawn, including the accumulated interest. This is assumed to constitute a tax savings, since presumably you will be retired by then and in a lower tax bracket.

There are numerous other "ifs" in the plan.

For instance, if you're forced to withdraw early, you pay income tax on the money withdrawn, plus a 10 percent penalty. And there are "substantial" penalties on the accrued interest.

Projections of the amount you will have at fifty-nine-and-a-half are based on an assumed 12 percent interest rate over the years.

There is, of course, no guarantee that interest rates will remain at that level.

Nor is there any real guarantee that your entire savings could not be wiped out in a 1929-like crash. If the stock market goes through the floor, mutual funds and money funds would go right along. And there's no guarantee that "insured" bank IRAs would really be covered in a total financial crisis.

Get a suitcase

Finally, if you assume that capitalism will still be here in forty years, it's quite difficult to imagine what that theoretical \$1,500,000 might really be worth. It conjures up the stories of the survivors of Germany's runaway inflation of the 1920s. People say that when they went shopping they took their money in a suitcase.

Certainly, the IRAs are a bonanza for those who are peddling them. It is estimated that the financial operators can expect as much as \$50 billion in IRA funds to sink into their various endeavors. And they don't have to wait forty years for a return on their investment of your money.

Meanwhile, a lot of people will be laboring under the illusion that they're building up a real nest egg for their retirement.

Which is exactly the government's point.

We have seen how the deepening crisis of the capitalist system has sparked an unrelenting cutback drive. There are the slashes in social services, the virtual scrapping of the public housing program, the demagoguery about "voluntarism" — that is, the utterly reactionary, and utopian notion that private charity can provide for those in need.

Another target for "reprivatization" is the Social Security system.

A while back, Norman Ture, a Treasury Department official, philosophized, "For most of our history, we didn't have Social Security. People did not simply reach the age of sixty-five and die. They had provision made, by themselves, by their family, by charity."

What a foul lie that is. People did die of hunger, of medical neglect, and of the nightmarish conditions of "poorhouses" and other "charitable" institutions.

Even today, the shamefully inadequate standards of Social Security mean misery for millions of the elderly.

During his campaign for the presidency, Reagan spoke to a Florida meeting of senior citizens. He assured them

that if elected, he would "preserve and strengthen" the Social Security system, "this fundamental contract between the American people and their government."

In office, he quickly began the job of dismantling Social Security. For those retiring after January 1, 1982, the pitiful \$122 monthly minimum has been scrapped. A federal commission is studying how to make the system financially "stable." That is intended to mean further cuts. More immediate are Congressional plans to pare cost-of-living increases.

People recognize the extent of the challenge. In February, the *Washington Post* reported that, in conjunction with ABC News, it had conducted a poll on popular expectation in relation to Social Security.

Sixty-one percent of those surveyed had no confidence that the Social Security system would still be functioning when they reached retirement. For obvious reasons, the figure was much higher among the young than among those near retirement age. Among those eighteen to thirty-four years old, 74 percent didn't expect to see Social Security checks.

The lack of confidence is greater among women than men, and greatest among Black people.

The *Post* explained: "Most older Americans . . . still see the program as a legal and moral commitment, but the younger generation that matured on Vietnam and Watergate and saw other solemn promises abandoned is much more skeptical."

The paper described a young woman in a Manhattan bank filled with IRA promotion posters.

The *Post* reported: "When she cynically commented to a middle-aged teller that the exhortation to set up IRAs was really a ploy for preparing the public for the day Social Security collapses, the teller promptly agreed with her."

The cynicism is certainly justified. But something more is needed. Retirement on a decent level cannot be achieved by the great majority of workers on an individual basis. A government plan is essential. And if the weekly contribution of workers really isn't enough to stabilize the fund, that's all the more reason to end the payroll tax and simply tax the wealthy corporations. After all, their superprofits do come from our lifetime of labor.

Social Security must be maintained and expanded. And, it must be said, a government that cannot assure working people a decent retirement should be retired from power.

A workers and farmers government would consider Social Security one of its most elementary obligations.

North Korea protests U.S. war exercise

The Foreign Ministry of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea issued a statement on February 14 denouncing Washington for staging a large-scale joint military exercise with South Korea. They protested that this was a provocation against North Korea.

The joint military maneuver, code-named "Team Spirit 82," mobilized 157,500 forces. These included the U.S. troops occupying South Korea; the South Korean army; and U.S. marines and ground, naval, and air forces stationed on the U.S. mainland and at military bases in Okinawa and other Pacific islands. A number of warships from the U.S. Seventh Fleet are being concentrated in the area around the Korean peninsula.

The U.S. imperialists must "stop their reckless war exercise at once, take off the 'U.N. forces' helmets and withdraw all the aggressive forces from South Korea at the earliest possible date," the statement said.

Nebr. rail unions protest nuclear danger



"Nuclear industry officials have shown little concern for discussing the possible health and safety hazards," Mike Carper, chairman of the Lincoln Coalition of Rail Crafts, said at a recent news conference to protest the proposed transportation of nuclear wastes by rail.

BY CHERYL PORCH

LINCOLN, Neb. — General Electric is proposing to ship spent fuel rods from the Cooper nuclear plant near Nebraska City to its Morris plant near Devine, Illinois beginning in September. The radioactive cargo would travel on the Burlington Northern railroad through many Nebraska communities.

At a news conference held here February 18, opposition to this proposal was expressed. The news conference was called by the Lincoln Coalition of Rail Crafts (LCRC), a group of seventeen rail unions in the Lincoln area. Representatives of the Sierra Club, Nebraskans for Peace, the Near-South Neighborhood Association, the United States Farmers Association, and State Senator Steve Fowler also gave statements.

Mike Carper, chairperson of the LCRC, talked about the dangers posed by the shipment of any hazardous material by rail due to the possibility of derailments.

"Nuclear industry officials have shown little concern for discussing the possible health and safety hazards of any nuclear accident," Carper said. "They have made no exception for the many questions that have been raised concerning transportation of nuclear wastes by rail. We are therefore calling upon state and local governments to immediately prohibit the shipment of nuclear waste material until all the questions that these shipments raise can be answered and solved."

The coalition expressed the greatest concern over the inadequacies of the shipping casks used by General Electric to transport nuclear waste by rail. Evidence was presented at the news conference that pointed to serious flaws in the tests performed on the casks. According to the coalition, many of the shipping casks currently in use have not been tested at all.

Merle Hansen sent a statement on behalf of the U.S. Farmers Association

that pointed out the threat to livestock and farmlands. Hansen toured farms in the Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, area following the accident at Three Mile Island three years ago and saw firsthand the effects of nuclear plants.

He said, "The people of this country have the right to know the truth about the industrial processes that contaminate the air and water and endanger the environment. Now is the time to hold open public hearings on the nuclear issue. At these public hearings we should call for the opening of all books and records of the utility and railroad corporations."

The other organizations represented at the news conference also decried the secrecy surrounding General Electric's plans and stressed the public's right to know why and when the shipments are being made. They expressed their support for the rail workers' campaign to stop the shipment of nuclear waste.

State Senator Steve Fowler said that he would be introducing legislation that would ask for an interim study to answer the questions about the necessity and safety of the nuclear shipments. The day after the news conference, Lincoln City Councilman Eric Youngberg announced that he would introduce a resolution banning the shipment of nuclear waste material through Lincoln.

The news conference was widely reported by the media. The daily papers in Omaha, Lincoln, and Kearney all ran stories. Three television stations, several radio stations, and the Associated Press and United Press International wire services also attended.

The coalition plans to pursue the issue by holding a public hearing to get information to the people affected by the shipments. Mike Carper ended his statement by saying, "As rail workers we are concerned about the health and safety of our co-workers. As concerned citizens, parents, and property owners it is our responsibility to bring our concerns and information to the public."

Jackson: 'It's not the bus, it's us'

The following article by Rev. Jesse Jackson appeared on the Op-Ed page of the March 8 *New York Times* under the headline, "It's not the bus. It's us." Jackson is national president of Operation PUSH (People United to Save Humanity).

We are printing the article because it presents cogent arguments in defense of school desegregation by busing.

CHICAGO — Political opportunists in the Senate want to turn the Supreme Court's school-desegregation decision in *Brown v. Board of Education* into an Indian treaty — a law on the books, but unenforceable.

The Senate has voted, 57 to 37, to bar Federal courts from ordering, for racial reasons, the busing of children more than five miles from home or ordering children to travel by bus longer than 15 minutes. The bill, on which the House must also vote, would allow the Justice Department to ask the courts to overturn existing desegregation plans that require busing in violation of these two new guidelines.

It was not just Republicans who voted for the bill. There is emerging a conspiracy between Democrats and Republicans and between the executive and legislative branches to take away Federal legal protections for which thousands of people, black and white, have struggled and died. First, the executive branch granted tax-exempt status to private schools that practice racial discrimination — a snafu from which it is still trying to extricate itself. Next, the legislative branch attempts to pass laws ensuring that segregation in publicly supported schools will continue.

The Senate did not propose ending all busing, only busing for desegregation. If it had outlawed all busing, education would have halted. Handicapped, rural, and private-school children ride buses to school. In fact, 55 percent of all schoolchildren ride buses daily.

But this is not the kind of busing that upsets white people. It is the 3.6 percent of public school students who are bused because schools are illegally segregated. Riding the bus to school is all right as long as it is not to desegregate the schools. I can only conclude that it's not the bus that upsets these 57 white Senators — it's us (black people). Desegregation, I remind these lawmakers, is the law of the land.

These attacks on busing are diversionary. The central issue is not transportation; it is equal protection under the law. "Antibusing" is a code word for racism and rejection. Where busing has failed — it has mostly succeeded — the failure has been organized by demagogues using schoolchildren as political stepping stones. Where there has been moral, civilized white leadership, desegregation — including busing — has worked.

A new twist has been added. Some say that not only are whites against busing, but that blacks are, too. True, some blacks oppose busing, but not for racial reasons. Blacks sometimes are against busing because all decisions about desegregation are being made for them, not with and by them. Students, teachers, and administrators, have been desegregated, but power has not been. Now, 100 white Senators are making decisions that affect blacks' educational opportunity. When power is not desegregated, black children, parents, and educators have no way of protecting themselves or redressing grievances.

What grievances? As documented by Nancy L. Arnez, chairman of the department of educational leadership and community services, at Howard University, desegregation in a power vacuum has had the following disastrous consequences for the black community:

1. The loss of teaching and adminis-

trative jobs by blacks through dismissals and demotions.

2. The loss of millions of dollars in projected earned income.

3. The loss of racial role models, heroes, and authority figures for black children.

4. The loss by black children of cherished school symbols, colors, emblems, and names of schools when their schools are closed and they are shifted to white schools.

5. In the new setting, subjection to resegregated classes and buses, and exclusion from extracurricular activities.

6. A disproportionate number of

black students suspended, expelled, and pushed out of school.

7. Exposure of black children to hostile attitudes and behavior by white teachers and parents.

8. Forced one-way busing policies and the uprooting of black children for placement in hostile school environments without any support systems.

9. Misclassification of blacks into special education classes and tracking systems.

10. Unfair disciplinary practices and arbitrary school rules and regulations.

11. Ignorance of black learning styles, culture, and social, educational, and psychological needs.

These are entirely different reasons than the ones whites give. The Senate, the President, and the American people should not misinterpret any black opposition to busing. It is not opposition to desegregated education. It does not mean blacks are willing to bargain away their constitutional rights just because busing is not popular. Justice and equal opportunity for blacks in America never have been popular. That is why we need the protection of the law. So the Senate and the President, rather than trying to figure out ways to circumvent morally sound and just laws, should instead concentrate on upholding and enforcing them.

Women's rights actions hit U.S. war drive

BY MARGARET JAYKO

NEW YORK CITY — "Today, the center of the fight for women's rights on an international scale is in Central America and the Caribbean."

That's how Elizabeth Stone, editor of the new book, *Women and the Cuban Revolution*, began her talk on what women's rights fighters in this country can learn from the Cuban revolution.

Stone explained that the victory of the revolutionary struggles being fought in Guatemala and El Salvador would lead to big and long-lasting gains for women. The proof can be found in the great strides forward women have taken in Nicaragua, Grenada, and Cuba, since those countries overthrew their dictators and installed governments that represent the workers and peasants.

Many of the 275 people in attendance knew very little about Cuba, and were eager to find out about the progress of women there, and why women in a rich country like the United States are being pushed back while women are advancing in underdeveloped Cuba.

This meeting, sponsored by the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance, was one of many activities that occurred in New York around March 8, International Women's Day (IWD).

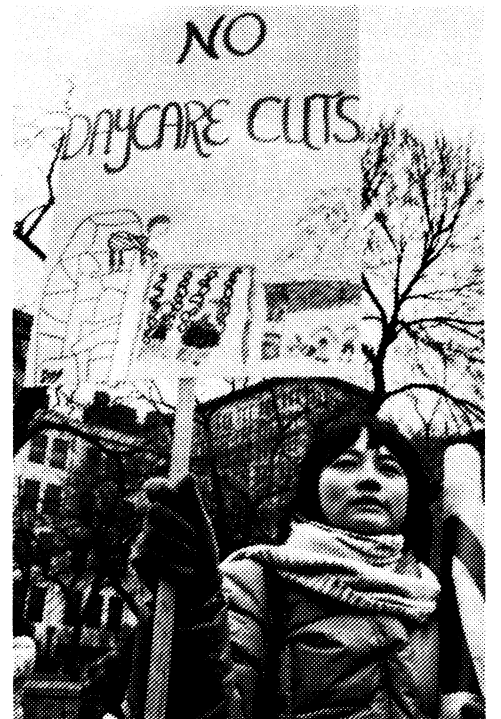
The roots of IWD are in New York City's Lower East Side. There, on March 8, 1875, women garment and textile workers marched to protest their long hours, low wages, and miserable working conditions.

The U.S. Congress has designated March 7 as the beginning of the first national Women's History Week. And Mayor Koch's Commission on the Status of Women declared March "Women's History Month."

But despite such fine proclamations, the rights and living standards of women, and all working people, are being drastically cut back by those same De-



Left, Elizabeth Stone speaking about women and the Cuban revolution. Right, New York City International Women's Day March.



Militant photos by Lou Howort

mocrats and Republicans.

It's these attacks, combined with the U.S. rulers' intensified war moves, that prompted protest actions in many cities and countries to commemorate March 8.

The largest activity in New York was a march of 1,000 around Union Square. The most popular chant was "No draft! No war! U.S. out of El Salvador!" The marchers paused at various symbols of women's oppression, like the welfare office and the armory and unfurled protest banners.

Participating organizations included the National Organization for Women, the Coalition for Abortion Rights and Against Sterilization Abuse, the National Black Independent Political Party, the Coalition of Labor Union Women, the Committee in Solidarity with

the People of El Salvador, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, and the Socialist Workers Party.

About 150 people attended the Brooklyn Grenada Women's Organization's IWD celebration. Dessima Williams, Grenadian Ambassador to the Organization of American States, and Caldwell Taylor from Grenada's Mission to the United Nations both addressed the meeting.

On March 2, the women's section of the New York Black United Front held a forum on "Support for African Women at Home and Abroad."

A program focusing on Black women in the United States was organized on March 8 by the women's commission of the National Black Independent Political Party and the Coalition of Concerned Black Women.

In Newark, New Jersey, 850 people gathered to commemorate IWD at Central High School — an event which was endorsed by over 100 organizations. The rally was preceded by a march of 450.

Although billed as a "festival," the organizers of the event built it as a response to the attacks on women's rights. A central theme of the rally speakers was the need for peace.

The threat of U.S. intervention in Central America was a major theme at a Chicago rally of 450 people celebrating IWD. A speaker from the National Association of El Salvadoran Educators pointed to the March 27 antiwar demonstration in Washington, D.C., as the kind of solidarity the Salvadoran people need.

The rally was held in Chicago's Puerto Rican community and was sponsored by a coalition of women's groups.

The largest action in the United States was in San Francisco, where several thousand people marched and rallied. There were also actions in several other cities and countries, many of which protested Washington's war drive.

Women on front lines in Nicaragua

BY JANE HARRIS

MANAGUA, NICARAGUA — Thousands of women and men gathered here in the Omar Torrijos Plaza of the Non-aligned Nations on March 8 to say one thing loud and clear: Women will be on the front lines against any attack on the Nicaraguan revolution.

Women's militias assembled in front of the podium carrying a large banner that read, "Women are here to defend the Sandinista People's Revolution against imperialist threats."

The crowd went wild when a special contingent of mothers of heroes and martyrs of the revolution entered the plaza. A popular theme of the speeches and banners was solidarity with the women of El Salvador and Guatemala, struggling to be free of U.S. domination.

Minister of Culture Ernesto Cardenal and Commander of the Revolution Humberto Ortega spoke at length on the necessity for both women and men to strengthen the Sandinista Defense Committees and the Sandinista People's Militias.

Glenda Monterrey, general Secretary of the Association of Nicaraguan Women (AMNLAE), which sponsored the international women's day rally, pointed out that women have already been playing a big role in all aspects of Nicaraguan society.

"Nicaraguan women made up 60 percent of the literacy campaign teachers, 80 percent of health workers, and have formed seven reserve militia battalions. They constitute the majority of the vigilance committees and besides that have been in the vanguard of the struggle for social emancipation," Monterrey said.

In the AMNLAE leader's concluding remarks, she explained, "After July 19, 1979, every day in Nicaragua has been a women's day, because every day we are constructing a new country, incorporating women in the work of national reconstruction."

The crowd sounded their agreement with an enormous round of applause.

From Intercontinental Press

Angela Davis has no answers for women

'Women, Race and Class' counterposes women's struggle to Black struggle



1977 abortion rights protest in St. Louis. Black and Latino women suffer most when abortion is illegal, and from forced sterilization.

Women, Race and Class, by Angela Davis. Random House 1981, 271 pp., \$13.50.

BY LAURA MOORHEAD

I saw this book in a local bookstore and I immediately bought it. I bought it because it is written by Angela Davis.

In the early 1970s, Angela Davis, for many, personified the hopes and aspirations of the Black struggle.

In 1969 and 1970, as a professor at the University of California in Los Angeles, Davis was twice fired for her membership in the Communist Party.

In 1970, she was put on the FBI's "Ten Most Wanted" list, accused of murder and kidnapping in connection with an attack on a courtroom by a man she had worked with in defense of political prisoners. When Davis was finally caught, she was thrown in prison for sixteen months.

Millions of people around the world, particularly young Blacks, identified

BOOK REVIEW

with her plight and her defense of Black prisoners. They participated in the international protest campaign that secured her acquittal.

It is both her own personal struggle and the impact of her defense campaign on the Black movement that bring authority to the name of Angela Davis, and require a look at her political writings.

Seriously flawed

According to the notes on the flyleaf, *Women, Race and Class* attempts to look at the history of the feminist movement through the perspective of sex, race, and class.

As history, much of *Women, Race and Class* is rewarding reading, particularly the chapters "Black Women and the Club Movement," and "Woman Suffrage at the Turn of the Century: The Rising Influence of Racism." Both of these are solid contributions to the history of Black women as activists in the anti-lynching movement, and shed light on the impact of the development of the United States as an imperialist power on the campaign to win the vote for women.

But *Women, Race and Class* is seriously flawed. It never delivers on the promise of the title.

It is a collection of essays on aspects of the history of the women's movement. The book contains no introduction and no conclusion.

At a time when the women's movement is faced with some tremendous challenges — as well as tremendous opportunities — Davis's book is silent on the burning questions facing the struggle for women's rights today, and the key role that Black women must and will play in that fight.

In the January 26 review of the book that appeared in the *Daily World*, newspaper of the Communist Party, Judith Eisenscher writes, "I would use the old cliché of calling it a 'timely' book, but I am only sorry that it was not written 10 years ago." But a big problem with *Women, Race and Class* is that it reads as though it were written ten years ago. Many of the issues that it discusses — like Black family life under slavery, the issue of racism in the abolitionist and suffrage movements, or the racism in Susan Brownmiller's *Against Our Will: Men, Women and Rape* have been discussed by other writers.

When Davis does discuss issues like rape and abortion, it is only in the most general terms. And these are the only contemporary issues that are mentioned. Davis doesn't talk about the Equal Rights Amendment, child care, affirmative action, cutbacks in social services, paid maternity leave, or equal pay for equal work.

No road forward

The main weakness of *Women, Race and Class* is a political one. Nowhere does Davis lay out a road forward for women today. She simply concentrates on excoriating segments of the leadership of the past and present American feminist movement for their racist ideas.

She never explains that the key to this racism is these misleaders' reliance on the ruling class to give women some equality, instead of allying with the working class and the Black and Latino communities to fight against the government, which is the main enemy of all the oppressed and exploited.

It's this fundamental political error that leads to ignoring or downplaying the struggle for the interests of the most oppressed women, because these present the biggest challenge to the capitalists who own the government.

Perhaps the reason Davis doesn't polemicize against the leadership of the National Organization for Women and others about their subordination of the fight for women's rights to their alliance with the Democrats and Republicans is that her own party, the Communist Party, is a staunch supporter of so-called liberal Democrats.

By constantly counterposing the fight

for women's rights to the struggle for Black rights and the struggles of working women, Davis implies that Blacks, women, and working people have some conflicting interests.

For example, in the chapter titled "Rape, Racism and the Myth of the Black Rapist," she talks about author Susan Brownmiller's reactionary and racist views. Then Davis suggests that Brownmiller is really "defending the particular cause of white women, regardless of its implications."

This is a typical quote.

And it's politically fatal and dead wrong. The interests of women, including the overwhelming majority of white women, are inseparable from the interests of Blacks and Latinos, and from the struggle of the entire working class to be free of capitalist exploitation and oppression. Racists like Brownmiller who masquerade as feminists hinder the cause of women's equality.

To say that there are some special "white women's interests" is to imply that the struggle for women's equality can be advanced at the expense of Blacks and working people.

Davis ends up with the same dangerous idea that she criticizes leaders of the women's rights movement for holding — that the fight for women's rights can somehow move forward in opposition to the general struggle to get rid of capitalism.

The fight for abortion rights

This error reinforces another theme of Davis's book — the fight for women's equality is not important to the broad masses of women, especially Black women.

A case in point is her handling of the abortion issue. The chapter "Racism, Birth Control and Reproductive Rights" puts a question mark over the fight for abortion rights by placing the discussion in a false framework of abortion versus forced sterilization.

Davis implies that Black women are not so much interested in the right to abortion as they are concerned with the issue of ending forced sterilization — that somehow abortion is really a white women's issue.

It is certainly true that the record of the birth control movement in this country was seriously compromised by the racism of the advocates of eugenics (a pseudoscience that urges measures to limit the reproduction of those considered "unfit" through forced sterilization and other racist laws and practices), and by its latter-day supporters in the form of groups like Zero Population Growth. These individuals are more concerned with population control of oppressed minorities than with the right of women to control their own bodies.

But Davis doesn't mention the fact that, with the rise of the feminist movement in the late 1960s, the fight for legalized abortion was finally taken off this reactionary axis, and posed as a question of the right of women to control their own bodies. That's why a majority of people in this country today support legalized abortion — including Blacks.

Today, this right is under serious attack. The Hyde Amendment, cutting off federal funds for abortion, most directly affects the rights and lives of Black women and the poor.

Davis herself cites the fact that in New York state "some 80 percent of the deaths caused by illegal abortions involved Black and Puerto Rican women," and that after the 1973 Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion, almost half of all abortions were obtained by women of color. Clearly, women must have the right to abortion as well as the safeguard against forced sterilization.

Triple signposts of oppression

Sex, race, and class are three separate questions, but for Black women they are the triple signposts of our oppression —

and Davis's book leaves us nowhere to go to liberate ourselves from this triple stranglehold.

There have been significant developments affecting the Black movement in the last few years that begin to deal seriously with this question. It would have been good if Davis's book had discussed them.

Black party

The program of the newly formed National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP) goes further than any previous Black organization in defining the oppression and liberation of Black women, and placing women's oppression squarely in the center of the Black struggle. The founding charter of the NBIPP states:

"We believe in the total social, political and economic equality of Black women. . . . We believe that Black women are held down by triple oppression: as Blacks, as women and as workers. We believe that women have the right to the final choice of human reproduction, i.e. freedom over their own bodies. . . . We believe that sexism (including the idea of women as sex objects) and the male supremacist concept of female subservience is an unnatural, reactionary view indicative of the ideological backwardness which we must overcome."

The NBIPP program demands affirmative action programs to end sex discrimination; passage of the Equal Rights Amendment; equal pay for equal work; free child care; no forced sterilization; free health care; continued funding for sex education in the schools; programs for pregnant teenagers; and "preventive programs to discourage unwanted pregnancies and encourage development of a positive self-concept."

The party pledges to conduct "a massive educational campaign within the party and the Black community" around these issues.

And that's just what they are beginning to do.

Davis's approach is to write off the women's movement. But the kind of political perspective that the NBIPP advances — one based on an anti-imperialist, anticapitalist world view — is precisely what's needed to construct a new, militant leadership of the women's movement as part of the fight against war, austerity and racism.

While both Davis's book and the charter of the NBIPP were published in the same year, the NBIPP's charter deals squarely with a meaningful synthesis of sex, race, and class. *Women, Race and Class* is only a hollow echo of this important task.



Angela Davis in 1971.

—THE GREAT SOCIETY—

Foolproof — A group of atomic scientists at Lawrence Livermore Laboratory in California own a communal under-



Harry Ring

ground bomb shelter. Survival supplies include a cache of guns because, as one member explained, "it would be foolish to go into this kind of project

without the potential to defend yourself." The potential will have to be renewed. Persons unknown entered the shelter and removed the guns.

Deliver them evil — According to a recent biography, Lyndon Johnson believed he was visited by God at the White House during the Vietnam War.

Just like the bus service — The Denver area Transportation District has advised employees at its headquarters that those using the coffee machine will pay by the

month, in advance. Those who use cream and sugar will provide their own.

Perish the thought — Assistant Attorney General William Bradford Reynold assures that the fact that the administration has only recently filed its first fair housing suit does not mean that it will go easy in this area of civil rights.

Tender, loving care — The unalienated nature of our medical system was suggested by a *New York Times* financial report that National Medical Enterprises, Inc. plans to acquire

First Washington Group, Inc. in a \$100 million deal. First Washington operates twenty-one hospitals and psychiatric care units. National Medical owns or operates sixty-three acute care hospitals, plus five medical equipment firms.

Staying in style — What with leaks from the apartment above, plus falling plaster, our shower curtain tends to look a bit streaky. But now a New York shop is offering hand painted shower curtains, with splashes and spattering of paint, \$200 per curtain.

To lighten your wallet — "Recreations" of lamps from Germany's Bauhaus period of design in the '20s are being offered at contemporary prices. An Art Deco table lamp, \$250. A mod looking floor lamp, \$1,250. Bulbs, we presume, extra.

Getting along — Taxpayers will be pleased to note that the cost of pensions, office space, and travel expenses for former presidents Ford, Nixon, and Carter will run a tad over \$1 million this fiscal year.

—CALENDAR—

GEORGIA

Atlanta

Socialist Workers Party Campaign Rally — Cutbacks and War: How We Can Fight Back. Speakers: Maceo Dixon, SWP candidate for governor; Alison Beckley, SWP candidate for 5th Congressional District; Tom Fiske, SWP candidate for secretary of state; Greg Worthy, Young Socialist Alliance; Rob Lutton, Atlanta Committee for Latin America. Sat., March 20, 7:30 p.m. reception, 8 p.m. program. 509 Peachtree St. NE. Ausp: SWP Campaign. For more information call (404) 872-7229.

INDIANA

Gary

Socialist Campaign Rally: First-Hand Account of Revolutionary Cuba. Speaker: Jesse Smith, Socialist Workers Party candidate for 1st Congressional District. Sat., March 20, 7:30 p.m. 3883 Broadway. Donation: \$2. Ausp: SWP Campaign Committee. For more information call (219) 884-9509.

Indianapolis

Classes on Women's Liberation. Sat., March 20. Roots of Women's Oppression, speaker: Jenny Austin, Young Socialist Alliance, 1 p.m.; History of the Women's Movement, speaker: Eileen Weiss, Socialist Workers Party, 3 p.m. 4850 N. College Ave. Donation: \$.50 per class. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (317) 283-6149.

Who Are the Real Terrorists? Speakers: Abd Algader Khalid, Arab student; Dhalia Almuhaire, Arab student; Steve Lich, Irish rights activist; representative from Socialist Workers Party. Sat., March 20, 7 p.m. IUPUI Lecture Hall, Room 104. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum Series. For more information call (317) 283-6149.

KENTUCKY

Louisville

El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Cuba: The Truth Behind Reagan's Lies. Film: *The Seeds of Liberty*. Tape of Clyde Bellecourt from the American Indian Movement. Speaker: Craig Honts, Socialist Workers Party can-

didate for U.S. Congress. Sun., March 21, 7:30 p.m. 809 E. Broadway. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (502) 587-8418.

MISSOURI

Kansas City

Closing the Gate: Plant Closings and Takeback Contracts. Speakers: John Montgomery, president, United Food and Commercial Workers Local 782; Carl Harris, president, Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers Local 5-672; Martha Pettit, United Auto Workers Local 93 and Socialist Workers Party. Sun., March 21, 8 p.m. 4715-A Troost. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

NEW JERSEY

Newark

U.S. Foreign Policy vs. People of El Salvador. Documentary film: *El Salvador: Another Vietnam*. Speaker: Fred Murphy, staff writer for *Intercontinental Press*. Sat., March 20, 7:30 p.m. 11-A Central Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

NEW YORK

Albany and Schenectady

Mayberry for Congress: Campaign Saturday. Join Pat Mayberry, rail worker and Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress, and her supporters canvassing neighborhoods and talking with voters. Sat., March 20, 11 a.m. In Albany, 479 State St. In Schenectady, 323 State St. (campaign headquarters). For more information call (518) 463-8873 or (518) 374-1494.

Manhattan

Forum in Solidarity with the Liberation Movements of Southern Africa. Speakers: Himyangerwa Asheke, UN deputy representative of SWAPO; Barbara Masekela, African National Congress of South Africa; Rev. Herbert Daughtry, chairman, National Black United Front; Dennis Brutus, South African poet and activist; Dumisani Kumalo, American Committee on Africa. Sat., March 20, 6 p.m. John Jay College 1st Floor Lecture Hall, 445 W 59th St. Ausp: NYC Student Coalition for the Liberation of Southern Africa, John Jay Black Studies Society. For more information call (212) 962-1210.

Marathon for Unity of the Puerto Rican Independence Movement. Speakers: Rafael Cancel Miranda, Puerto Rican nationalist hero; Gilberto Gerena Valentin, councilman from the Bronx; Wilma Reverón, Office of International Information for the Independence of Puerto Rico; José Alberto Álvarez, Puerto Rican Socialist Party; Victor Nieto, Socialist Workers Party; others. Cultural presentations by Pepe Castillo and Estampa Criolla; Pleneritos de Ponce; The Family; Epoca Brass Quintet; Teatro Cuatro; many others. Ausp: Comité Unitario 21 de Marzo. Sun. March 21, all day. Casa de las Américas, 104 West 14th Street. For more information call (212) 893-3802, (212) 538-6512, or (212) 675-2584.

NORTH CAROLINA

Winston-Salem

Socialist Workers Party Campaign Rally: Why the Democrats Won't Stop Reaganism. Speaker: Meryl Lynn Farber, SWP candidate for 5th Congressional District. Sat., March 20, 6 p.m. banquet, 7:30 p.m. rally. 216 E. 6th St. Donation: \$5 banquet and rally, \$1 rally only. Ausp: SWP Campaign Committee. For more information call (919) 723-3419.

OHIO

Cleveland

U.S. Intervention in Central America: a Marxist Analysis of Reagan's War Drive. Speaker: Susan Vernon, chairwoman, Cleveland Young Socialist Alliance. Sun., March 21, 7 p.m. 2230 Superior. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (216) 579-9369.

OREGON

Portland

Crisis in the Labor Movement: What Strategy to Fight Back Against Reaganism. Speakers: Paul Freeman, Socialist Workers Party candidate for city council. Sun., March 21, 7:30 p.m. 711 NW Everett. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

Reds: the Movie and the Revolution. Speaker: Ron Richards, Young Socialist Alliance. Sun., March 28, 7:30 p.m. 711 NW Everett. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

UTAH

Price

Film: El Salvador: Revolution or Death. Film on U.S. involvement in the civil war. Sat., March 27, 7 p.m. Gomer Peacock Lounge, College of Eastern Utah. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (801) 637-5582.

Salt Lake City

Money for Jobs, Not for War! Socialist Workers Campaign Rally. Speakers: Sara Smith, United Steelworkers Local 7889, SWP candidate for 2nd Congressional District; Cecelia Moriarty, United Mine Workers Local 2176, Wilberg mine. Featuring Jon Shuman, jazz pianist. Free buffet and refreshments. Sat., March 20, 7:30 p.m. Northwest Multi-purpose Center, 1300W 300N. Refreshments at 7 p.m. Donation: \$2.50. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (801) 355-1124.

NEW YORK

Manhattan

Film: The 10,000-Day War. Documentary about the Vietnam War. March 22-24 and March 30-April 1, Loeb Student Center, New York University; March 28-30, World Room, Columbia University Journalism Building. All showings at 7:30 p.m. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Southeast Asia Resource Center. For more information call (212) 964-4124.

WASHINGTON

Seattle

The Grenada Revolution: Three Years of Freedom. An eyewitness report with slide show. Speaker: Nancy Walker, coordinator of Socialist Youth Organizing Committee in Canada, recently returned from tour of Grenada. Sun., March 21, 7:30 p.m. 4868 Rainier Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (206) 723-5330.

Film: The New School. A film about education in Cuba. Meet Chris Remple, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate. Sun., March 28, 7:30 p.m. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (206) 723-5330.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Black Revolutionaries Yesterday and Today. The Fight Against Slavery: Abolitionists and Reconstruction, Sat., March 20, 1:45 p.m.; From the Black Renaissance to WWII, Sat., March 20, 4 p.m.; The Revolutionary Leadership of Malcolm X, Sun., March 21, 1 p.m. Slide show on Grenada, Sun., March 21, 3:45 p.m. Antioch School of Law, 2633 16th St. NW (near Columbia Rd.) Donation: \$5 for all classes. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (202) 797-7021.

WEST VIRGINIA

Charleston

Attacks Against Black Rights: What Strategy Is Needed to Fight Back? Speaker: Melvin Chappell, *Militant* staff reporter, national leader of Young Socialist Alliance; others to be announced. Sat., March 20, 7 p.m. 1584-A Washington St. E. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (304) 345-3040.

WISCONSIN

Milwaukee

The Indian Peoples and the Nicaraguan Revolution. Speaker: Vernon Bellecourt, American Indian Movement leader recently returned from Nicaragua. Also: Little Big Band (Native American rock group) after program. Sat., March 20, 8 p.m. Fireside Lounge, University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee Union (Kenwood and Maryland). Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum, American Indian Movement, UW Native American Student Movement, Mobilization for Survival; Central American Solidarity Coalition, Wisconsin Coalition Against Repression, Workers Center. For more information call (414) 445-2076.

A Gospel Tribute in Honor of Ernest Lacy. Speaker: Howard Fuller. Gospel choirs, poetry, and drama. Sat., April 3, 7 p.m. St. Matthew Church, 2944 N 9th St. Ausp: Coalition for Justice for Ernest Lacy.

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'Nicaragua is a country of poets and volcanoes'

BY DIANE JACOBS

Ntozake Shange, the young Black poet who wrote *For Colored Girls Who Have Considered Suicide When the Rainbow is Enuf*, traveled to Nicaragua recently to attend a poetry festival. The gains of the revolution there moved her so deeply that she kept a journal of her trip in the form of a prose poem, which she called "Diario Nicaragüense: Palabras y Balas." I was lucky enough to hear her read from this work in Manhattan shortly after her return.

"Diario" is an eloquent, at times wrenching, revolutionary statement, and the best expression I've heard so far of the flowering of culture and the arts in Nicaragua after the overthrow of Somoza.

Shange read from a notebook with a Cuban flag decal. She clearly understands the legacy of the Cuban revolution. On arriving in Managua she recalls the example of "the first free country in America":

"The sea rushing toward Cuba as the rest of us

POETRY REVIEW

should, to feel the weight fall off our backs, *nuestras corazones* [our hearts]. To breathe in 'el primero territorio libre en America [the first free territory in America]."

There is a difference between the value of a human life in Nicaragua or Cuba, and the United States. Throughout "Diario" Shange contrasts conditions here and there.

"I am now in Managua," she writes. "Here we are too precious to be left alone, longing for heat, salami, bread, or poetry. . . . At the airport, my old friend, a poet, Roberto Vargas, is a Sandinista. We hugged, free of decadence, full of hope/la dignidad [dignity]."

In Nicaragua, Shange witnesses the unleashing of human creative potential that is possible when workers take control of their lives. She visits a factory where dramatic productions are organized — "Theater in the factory at 2 a.m. Work first. Make theater where you work . . ." — and celebrates the fact that the distinctions between workers and artists disappear — "A painter in the Sandinista Popular Army designs weapons now. He loves landscapes, La Costa, Grenada, the volcano, Momotombo. He smiles: 'A drawing is a drawing.'"

She explores what it means to feel safe in a country that has abolished the death squads, national guard, and police:

"In Nicaragua the EPS, Ejército Popular Sandinista, is us, formerly expendable people taking care of ourselves, not killing each other. All of us, poets, workers, campesinos, doctors, the EPS is all of us, for us. So who should be afraid?"

She deplores the campaign of lies (alleging massacres of Miskitu Indians) that the United States is using to try to discredit the Sandinista leadership:

"El Comandante Tomas, tousled gray hair, heavyset, erect, talks of the insanity, the gall of the U.S.A. to accuse the Nicaragüense of killing Indians, of racism."

"Anywhere at any time," she writes, "a Nicaragüense may shout out/

'Si Nicaragua Venció [If Nicaragua won]

El Salvador Vencerá [El Salvador will win]

From all quarters the Sandinista is answered in mass response.

"THE SOVEREIGNTY OF A PEOPLE IS NOT DISCUSSED.

IT IS DEFENDED WITH ARMS IN HAND."

SANDINO

in Spanish, of course."

"Diario" contains the poem she presented at the festival in Managua. It tells of Blacks in Nicaragua, Black poets killed by Somoza, Black poets who write of Black miners "choking on dust/racism/having no future," and poets whose poems were burned by friends when Somoza's security police came around.

Shange understands also the threat of U.S. imperialism to victorious revolutions in Latin America. She expresses this threat obliquely in "Diario" through several references to "eight American white men" she first encounters in the New Orleans airport bar on her way to Nicaragua. The white men are "hunters" who "talked only of guns." They are going to Nicaragua, too. What are they planning to shoot, she wonders, the Nicaragüense, herself, or "some animals"? And "Who do they think animals are?"

What Ntozake Shange manages to convey best in "Diario Nicaragüense" is the soaring of the spirit when it is freed from the yoke of brutal dictatorship, of colonial oppression, of capitalism. Her metaphor is the flight of a mythic bird, a symbol of freedom because it does not survive long in captivity:

"Quetzal was a bird. He brought the stars out in the night that we might know light in the darkness. Quetzal was fed with our blood. Our liberty still demands *nuestra sangre* [our blood]. Our blood is our ultimate offering. In El Salvador we are still bleeding. In Nueva York a two-month-old baby freezes to death in her crib. Her 'blood' never flowed.

"Her spirit could not touch us. She never learned to fly. She never saw 'El Brigadista.' She does not know that children in Managua, Santiago, Soweto, Luanda are saving themselves from hungers for freedom. She does not know that some children with pistols took on the world & won."

What workers are up against as GM talks reopen

Continued from Page 1

grouping led by UAW local officials long opposed to the leadership of Solidarity House, the UAW's offices in Detroit.

LOC, at the time of the January GM Council meeting, had the support or sympathy of a number of council delegates. This was significantly reduced after the Ford ratification.

LOC has published a detailed analysis of what Ford workers have given up, and is distributing this to GM locals. (Copies are available for 50 cents, or 25 cents for four or more, from LOC, 6127 Highland, Dearborn Heights, Michigan 48127).

The LOC analysis concludes that each Ford worker will lose \$9,000 over the thirty-month life of the contract, through deferments and loss of cost-of-living and productivity increases.

LOC also points out that 3,000 jobs will be lost immediately by giving up ten holidays per year, and that the supposed guarantees against plant closings

and of job security are virtually meaningless.

Despite the terrible pressures and the size of the votes for ratification and reopening GM negotiations, it would be a mistake to conclude that auto workers are eager to accept concessions, or that they have lost their will to fight the corporations.

Militant correspondents, many of them UAW members, have talked about the contract with hundreds of Ford workers over the past few weeks in Michigan, New Jersey, Minnesota, Illinois, Kentucky, California, and elsewhere.

This was not a scientific survey (though it may be as much of one as we'll ever see), but some conclusions are possible based on these discussions:

- No one sees the contract as a step forward in any way, despite the UAW leaders' description of it as a "historic breakthrough."

- The workers who voted for it did so

for a variety of reasons. Some thought it could save jobs:

"I've only been here four years, and this might save me."

Some thought they could regain their losses later:

"I think it opens the door for more benefits for us if the company does pick up in profits."

Some thought it could have been worse, and that a strike would lose:

"Should we hit the bricks and wind up without anything?"

A few said they were for a strike against any concessions. Some of these didn't accept Fraser's contention that they would be weaker in September because of high dealer and company inventory.

- Many felt their fellow workers were afraid for their jobs and were for the contract.

"You hear talk in the locker room. They don't come right out and say it, but

some of them are scared. They think it will save their jobs."

- Many, probably most, feel there was little they could do but vote for it.

"This thing was set in stone by Fraser and Ford regardless of what way we voted."

- No one believes the UAW leadership is able or willing to fight and there is a great deal of anger at the officials because of this.

"The people who vote no on this will feel like our union is just a whore because Fraser is sitting on the board of Chrysler, he's both a company and a union man, and that's a shame."

- There is disbelief that sacrifices are equal.

"This is the general foreman, and I'm looking at his wingtip shoes and expensive shirt, and I've got patches on my clothes. I want to get out of my neighborhood and move into a nicer house, and I can't. I'm asked to freeze my wages, and that's bullshit."

DIRECTORY

Where to find the Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, and socialist books and pamphlets

ALABAMA: Birmingham: SWP, YSA, 205 18th St. S. Zip: 35233. Tel: (205) 323-3079.

ARIZONA: Phoenix: SWP, YSA, 611 E. Indian School. Zip: 85012. Tel: (602) 274-7399. Tucson: SWP, P.O. Box 2585. Zip: 85702. Tel: (602) 622-3880 or 882-4304.

CALIFORNIA: Oakland: SWP, YSA, 2864 Telegraph Ave. Zip: 94609. Tel: (415) 763-3792. Los Angeles: SWP, YSA, 2546 W. Pico Blvd. Zip: 90006. Tel: (213) 380-9460. San Diego: SWP, YSA, 1053 15th St. Zip: 92101. Tel: (714) 234-4630. San Francisco: SWP, YSA, 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 824-1992. San Jose: SWP, YSA, 46½ Race St. Zip: 95126. Tel: (408) 998-4007.

COLORADO: Denver: SWP, YSA, 126 W. 12th Ave. Zip: 80204. Tel: (303) 534-8954.

FLORIDA: Gainesville: YSA, c/o Bill Petersen, 612 SW 2nd St. Zip: 32601. Tel: (904) 376-0210. Miami: SWP, YSA, 1237 NW 119th St., North Miami. Zip: 33167. Tel: (305) 769-3478.

GEORGIA: Atlanta: SWP, YSA, 509 Peachtree St. NE Zip: 30308. Tel: (404) 872-7229.

ILLINOIS: Chicago: SWP, YSA, 434 S. Wabash, Room 700. Zip: 60605. Tel: (312) 939-0737.

INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, Activities

Desk, Indiana Memorial Union. Zip: 47405. Gary: SWP, YSA, 3883 Broadway. Zip: 46409. Tel: (219) 884-9509. Indianapolis: SWP, YSA, 4850 N. College. Zip: 46205. Tel: (317) 283-6149.

IOWA: Cedar Falls: YSA, c/o Jim Sprall, 803 W. 11th St. Zip: 50613.

KENTUCKY: Louisville: SWP, YSA, 131 W. Main #102. Zip: 40202. Tel: (502) 587-8418. **LOUISIANA:** New Orleans: SWP, YSA, 3207 Dublin St. Zip: 70118. Tel: (504) 486-8048.

MARYLAND: Baltimore: SWP, YSA, 2913 Greenmount Ave. Zip: 21218. Tel: (301) 235-0013.

MASSACHUSETTS: Boston: SWP, YSA, 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th Floor. Zip: 02215. Tel: (617) 262-4621.

MICHIGAN: Detroit: SWP, YSA, 6404 Woodward Ave. Zip: 48202. Tel: (313) 875-5322.

MINNESOTA: Mesabi Iron Range: SWP, YSA, 1012 2nd Ave. South, Virginia, Minn. Send mail to P.O. Box 1287. Zip: 55792. Tel: (218) 749-6327. Twin Cities: SWP, YSA, 508 N. Snelling Ave., St. Paul. Zip: 55104. Tel: (612) 644-6325.

MISSOURI: Kansas City: SWP, YSA, 4715A Troost. Zip: 64110. Tel: (816) 753-0404. St. Louis: SWP, YSA, 6223 Delmar Blvd. Zip: 63130. Tel: (314) 725-1570.

NEBRASKA: Lincoln: YSA, P.O. Box 30209. Zip: 68503. Tel: (402) 475-2255.

NEW JERSEY: Newark: SWP, YSA, 11-A Central Ave. Zip: 07102. Tel: (201) 643-3341.

NEW MEXICO: Albuquerque: SWP, YSA, 1417 Central Ave. NE. Zip: 87106. Tel: (505) 842-0954.

NEW YORK: Capital District (Schenectady): SWP, YSA, 323 State St. Zip: 12305. Tel: (518) 374-1494. New York, Brooklyn: SWP, YSA, 335 Atlantic Ave. Zip: 11201. Tel: (212) 852-7922. New York, Manhattan: SWP, YSA, 108 E. 16th St. 2nd Floor. Zip: 10003. Tel: (212) 260-6400. New York: Citywide SWP, YSA, 108 E. 16th St. 2nd Floor. Zip: 10003. Tel: (212) 533-2902.

NORTH CAROLINA: Piedmont: SWP, YSA, 216 E. 6th St., Winston-Salem. Zip: 27101. Tel: (919) 723-3419.

OHIO: Cincinnati: SWP, YSA, 2531 Gilbert Ave. Zip: 45206. Tel: (513) 751-2636. Cleveland: SWP, YSA, 2230 Superior. Zip: 44114. Tel: (216) 579-9369. Toledo: SWP, YSA, 2120 Dorr St. Zip: 43607. Tel: (419) 536-0383.

OREGON: Portland: SWP, YSA, 711 NW Everett. Zip: 97209. Tel: (503) 222-7225.

PENNSYLVANIA: Edinboro: YSA, Edinboro State College. Zip: 16444. Tel: (814) 734-4415. Harrisburg: SWP, YSA, 803 N. 2nd St. Zip: 17105. Tel: (717) 234-5052. Philadelphia: SWP, YSA, 5811 N. Broad St. Zip: 19141. Tel: (215) 927-4747 or 927-4748. Pittsburgh: SWP, YSA, 1102 E. Carson St. Zip: 15203. Tel: (412) 488-7000. State Col-

lege: YSA, P.O. Box 464, Bellefonte. Zip: 16823. Tel: (814) 238-3296.

RHODE ISLAND: Providence: YSA, P.O. Box 261, Annex Station. Zip: 02901.

TEXAS: Austin: YSA, c/o Mike Rose, 7409 Berkman Dr. Zip: 78752. Tel: (512) 452-3923. Dallas: SWP, YSA, 2817 Live Oak. Zip: 75204. Tel: (214) 826-4711. Houston: SWP, YSA, 6333 Gulf Freeway, Room 222. Zip: 77023. Tel: (713) 924-4056. San Antonio: SWP, YSA, 337 W. Josephine. Zip: 78212. Tel: (512) 736-9218.

UTAH: Salt Lake City: SWP, YSA, 677 S. 7th East, 2nd Floor. Zip: 84102. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

VIRGINIA: Tidewater Area (Newport News): SWP, YSA, 111 28th St. Zip: 23607. Tel: (804) 380-0133.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: SWP, YSA, 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7699. Baltimore-Washington District: 3106 Mt. Pleasant St., NW., Washington, D.C. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7021.

WASHINGTON: Seattle: SWP, YSA, 4868 Rainier Ave. South. Zip: 98118. Tel: (206) 723-5330.

WEST VIRGINIA: Charleston: SWP, YSA, 1584 A Washington St. East. Zip: 25311. Tel: (304) 345-3040. Morgantown: SWP, YSA, 957 S. University Ave. Zip: 26505. Tel: (304) 296-0055.

WISCONSIN: Milwaukee: SWP, YSA, 4707 W. Lisbon Ave. Zip: 53208. Tel: (414) 445-2076.

U.S. rebuffs Mexico on negotiations

Many Americans concerned about the administration's drive toward deeper intervention in Central America undoubtedly breathed a bit easier when Mexico's foreign minister announced that Washington had indicated a willingness to negotiate with Nicaragua and Cuba.

But the hard fact is that the danger of U.S. aggression in the area has not diminished.

Secretary of State Alexander Haig's response to the Mexican announcement revealed that as far as Washington was concerned it had agreed to nothing.

And, the very day Haig responded to Mexico, U.S.-sponsored counterrevolutionaries dynamited two bridges in Nicaragua. White House Counselor Edwin Meese III refused to "confirm or deny" Washington's complicity in the criminal attack.

The Mexican proposal for negotiations was initially advanced by President José López Portillo in a speech to a rally in Managua February 21.

López Portillo reiterated his proposal in a special interview with the *New York Times*, published March 12. The significance of this was indicated by the fact that *Times* Executive Editor A.M. Rosenthal participated in the Mexico City interview along with correspondent Alan Riding.

López Portillo urged that the United States enter into negotiations with both Cuba and Nicaragua, and that there be negotiations between the Salvadoran junta and the liberation forces in that country.

Cuba and Nicaragua, which both face substantial threats of U.S. aggression, declared their readiness to participate in negotiations. The guerrilla forces in El Salvador also welcomed the López Portillo initiative.

To slow down Washington's rapidly escalating threats against Nicaragua, the Mexican president proposed that Nicaragua enter into nonaggression pacts with its Central American neighbors and with the United States.

Responding to alleged Washington concerns over a Nicaraguan arms buildup, López Portillo pointed out that Nicaragua was readying its defense "because it is afraid of its neighbors and is afraid of the United States."

Rejecting the claim that U.S. security is threatened by Nicaragua, Cuba, or the Salvadoran rebels, López Portillo told the *Times*:

"I would turn it around. The risk is for Nicaragua, El Salvador and Cuba. The people of the United States have a right to security, but the peoples of small poor countries also have their rights. Why not recognize them?"

Two days later in New York, Mexico's foreign minister, Jorge Castañeda, told reporters that Secretary of State Haig had made proposals that could lead to negotiations.

"We feel hopeful," Castañeda said, "that a process of negotiations may be starting in the Caribbean."

Subsequent events indicate Castañeda's optimism was undue.

Haig did respond to the López Portillo initiative by saying that a "framework for future discussions" had been agreed to and "a dialogue" would continue in the weeks ahead.

The following day, Haig disclosed the proposals he had made to Mexico as a basis for negotiations.

This turned out to be a repeat of a Catch-22 offer made to Nicaragua last August, and not accepted then. Haig commented he didn't really expect it to be accepted now, either.

That "offer" provided that Washington would curb

the activities of counterrevolutionary Nicaraguan exiles openly training in this country. The government has permitted exile training camps to operate, in flagrant violation of the U.S. Neutrality Act.

In addition, Congress would, perhaps, restore cut off economic aid to Nicaragua.

In return, Nicaragua would be expected to cut back its military defense and "get out of El Salvador."

This, Haig emphasized, is the precondition for any agreement. "The Sandinistas have to get out of El Salvador."

And that, of course, is where the Catch-22 comes in. Nicaragua is not in El Salvador and therefore can't agree to "get out."

In sum, Washington has simply tried to maneuver with Mexico in the hope of moderating its bellicose image.

Immediately after Castañeda's statement, the State Department alerted its embassies to the announcement, assuring them that no diplomatic breakthrough was imminent. Washington's goal, it was explained, remains that of full support to the military dictatorship in El Salvador.

Washington's shameless cynicism in its dealings with Mexico was apparent in a March 17 *New York Times* news analysis, which reported:

"A broader reason for encouraging Mexican mediation efforts, senior officials said, was a hope that if the effort fails, as the Administration expects it will, the Mexican Government will be braced by the rejection and will better appreciate the threat to its security presented by Soviet and Cuban interference in Central America.

"We want them to learn a lesson," a senior official said."

But the basic reason for the Reagan administration's duplicity in its relations with Mexico stems from an attempt to put a fig leaf over its escalating aggression in Central America and the Caribbean.

It feels the need of that fig leaf because of the increasing opposition to its policies from the American people. This opposition has become so strong that it even finds a faint echo in Congress.

Discussing the administration's continuing inability to con the American people into accepting the absurdity of a Nicaraguan "threat," one "senior official" confided to reporters, "We failed to make our case convincingly even in Congress."

The March 13 *New York Times* reported: "In recent weeks, many lawmakers have said they detected a growing alarm around the country over the Administration's policy toward the region, particularly its vows to protect El Salvador from Communist incursions."

"No question about it, on this issue the American people are ahead of Congress," observed Senator Paul Tsongas of Massachusetts.

Confronted with a major threat from Washington, the people of Cuba, Nicaragua, and El Salvador have every reason and every right to respond positively to any negotiating process that might impede the aggression against them.

But, coupled with their continuing unbending resistance, the decisive contribution to peace in the Caribbean and Central America rests with the people of this country. We must intensify the demand for an end to U.S. intervention in El Salvador, an end to the blows against Nicaragua and the threats to Cuba and Grenada.

INS hands off Fernando Valenzuela!

The Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) wants to deport Fernando Valenzuela.

Valenzuela is a twenty-one-year-old Mexican youth who has been fortunate enough to have made it in baseball as a major league pitcher.

In his first year with the Los Angeles Dodgers, he led the team to the National League championship and to victory in the World Series.

For his hard work he was awarded two of baseball's most coveted prizes, Rookie of the Year and the Cy Young Award.

As a result, he has become an idol of thousands, especially Latino youth, in this country.

But, the INS wants to get him out of the country.

Valenzuela's crime is that he has refused to accept the latest offer made to him by the Dodger management. He believes he has a right to a tiny share of the astronomical profits raked in by the owners every year from lucrative media contracts and home attendance.

The Dodgers had filed a petition with the INS that had permitted Valenzuela to enter the country to work for the Dodgers. The INS now contends that Valenzuela's refusal to accept the contract violates the terms of the petition, in other words, if he works for less he can stay.

Ganging up with the INS and Dodger management are a good number of sportswriters. Some have chimed in with racist articles describing Valenzuela as the "Mexican meatball," and "portly peso grabber."

This racist treatment of Valenzuela is part of the INS drive against tens of thousands of Mexican and other undocumented workers to force them into accepting abysmal wages and working conditions. It represents an attack against all working people and should be opposed.

INS hands off Fernando Valenzuela!

U.S. land reform: Marxism vs 'true socialism'

In 1846 the Brussels Communist Correspondence Committee, founded by Marx and Engels for international collaboration, published a "Circular Against Kriege" for members of the Communist League. The circular, written by Marx and Engels, was a short polemic against the theory of "true socialism" put forward by Hermann Kriege. Kriege had emigrated to the United States from Germany in 1845. The second section of the circular deals with the land reform movement in the United States.

Young America, an organization of U.S. craftsmen and workers, initiated the mass National Reform Association, which was founded in 1845. The NRA agitated for land reform in the second

LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

half of the 1940s, demanding 160 acres of land to every worker. It opposed slave-owning planters and profiteers, and supported the ten-hour day and abolition of the standing army and slavery.

Kriege believed that providing 160 acres to every worker was the ultimate solution for the working class. Marx and Engels agreed that communists should participate in the land reform movement. They viewed it as a democratic reform which was a necessary step in the emergence of a working class and the development of a proletarian communist movement.

In 1862, the Homestead Act was adopted. It allowed anyone who was twenty-one or older or the head of a family, to receive up to 160 acres of land free by living on and working the land for five years.

The following are excerpts from the second section of the "Circular Against Kriege." The entire second section can be found in *Marx and Engels on the United States*, along with other interesting material.

We fully recognise that the American National Reform Movement is historically justified. We know that this movement has set its sights on a goal which, although for the movement it would further the industrialism of modern bourgeois society, nevertheless, as the product of a proletarian movement, as an attack on landed property in general and more particularly in the circumstances obtaining in America, will by its own inner logic inevitably press on to communism. Kriege, who has joined the anti-rent movement along with the German Communists in New York, pastes over this plain fact with his customary communist and extravagant phrases, without ever going into the positive substance of the movement, thereby proving that he is quite unclear in his own mind about the connection between Young America and circumstances prevailing in America.

In order communally to "preserve for all mankind" this "communal heritage," this "inalienable communal property," he adopts the plan of the National Reformers: "to place 160 acres of American soil at the command of every farmer, from whatever country he may hail, so that he may feed himself."

So in order that the soil shall remain "inalienable communal property," for "all mankind" to boot, a start must be made without delay on *dividing it up*; Kriege here imagines he can use the law to *forbid* the necessary consequences of this division, that is, concentration, industrial progress, etc. He considers 160 acres of land as an ever-constant measure, as if the value of such an area did not vary according to its quality. The "farmers" will have to exchange, if not their land itself, then at least the produce of their land, with each other and with third parties, and when this juncture has been reached, it will soon become apparent that one "farmer," even though he has no capital, will simply by his work and the greater initial productivity of his 160 acres, reduce his neighbour to the status of his *farm labourer*.

If Kriege had seen the free-land movement as a first, in certain circumstances necessary, form of the proletarian movement, as a movement which because of the social position of the class from which it emanates, must necessarily develop into a communist movement, if he had shown how communist tendencies in America could, to begin with, only emerge in this agrarian form which appears to be a contradiction of all communism, then no objection could have been raised. As things are, however, he declares what is after all a still subordinate form of movement of real specific people to be a matter for mankind *in general*, presents it, against his better knowledge, as the ultimate, supreme goal of all movement in general, and thereby transforms the specific aims of the movement into sheer, extravagant nonsense.

'Big government' presses forced motherhood

In the last couple of months, the bipartisan assault on reproductive rights has stepped up. At the heart of the government's attacks on abortion and contraception is a fundamental question — should women have the right to control our own bodies.

There are three recent developments that readers should be aware of.

First is Reagan's new proposal that parents must be notified within ten days after teenagers, seven-



WOMEN IN REVOLT Margaret Jayko

teen-years-old or younger, receive prescription contraception from federally funded clinics.

This has sparked a big debate. A recent study of young patients at these clinics showed that 25 percent would stop applying for birth control pills, IUDs and diaphragms if Reagan's guidelines went into effect. Only 2 percent said they would stop having sex.

The results would be catastrophic: more unwanted pregnancies and babies for teenage women; more teenage suicides; more young women dead due to premature pregnancies; more shattered hopes and lives.

Like many of the government's reactionary proposals, this one would hit Black, Latino, and poor women the hardest, since they don't have the option of bypassing the government-funded clinics and going to private doctors.

Another blow was struck on March 10.

The Senate Judiciary Committee approved the Hatch amendment — a proposed constitutional amendment that would enable Congress and individual states to outlaw abortion. This amendment would overturn the 1973 Supreme Court decision that legalized abortion.

This is the first time that a full Congressional committee has supported an anti-abortion amendment. This paves the way for the measure to go before the House and Senate. It was a bipartisan effort, with the two Democrats who voted "yes" giving it the decisive ten-to-seven edge.

This is "states' rights" legislation with a twist: state abortion laws would take precedence over federal laws *only when the state laws are more restrictive than the federal!*

And last but not least is Reagan's "new federalism." One of the many ways it will hurt the lives of working people is by curtailing the right to abortion.

Supporters of abortion rights fear that the proposed federal takeover of Medicaid would put a stop to government funding of abortions in the fourteen states and the District of Columbia where abortions for Medicaid patients are still subsidized. The federal government's position of only funding abortions when the woman's life is in danger could become the law in every state.

This would drive thousands of poor women into forced motherhood or dangerous back-alley or self-induced abortions.

Many big-business commentators claim that these three moves contradict the conservative ideology of Reagan and company because they involve more federal government intervention into people's lives.

But for women, Blacks, Latinos, and all working people, who bear the brunt of these blows, there's a deadly consistency. Use the power of the federal government to the max to help big business, and condemn "big government" when it puts any restrictions on profit-hungry banks and corporations, or when it's used to advance civil rights.

LETTERS

Reagan nightmare

The American dream has become a nightmare with Reagan. He has declared war against the working poor.

He has taken entitlement programs from the elderly. One hundred and fifty thousand have been terminated from Social Security Disability rolls in 1981, and he is expected to cut an additional 200 thousand in 1982. These people go without food for their table. He has hurt labor with his union busting; this is called forced labor.

Mr. Reagan has given the CIA power to wiretap your private telephone, to stop and search you, and no-knock power to enter your home without a search warrant. This is McCarthyism all over again.

Mr. President we have 9 million unemployed. Where are the 13 million jobs that you promised to the working poor Americans?

Lest we forget, this exploitation of the working poor as it is in England under Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher when people have nothing to look forward to, they burn everything down. I believe the reason for their action is that they believe they have to frighten the Establishment away from Fascism.

If you believe that these injustices are justified, just remember that only one fourth of the people voted for Reagan. America has lost its heart, compassion and its way. How do you feel about being duped and fooled by the rich man's brain washing? This coming fall election is for Congressmen and Senators. Get out and vote!

Robert Baca
Albuquerque, New Mexico

Gisela Scholtz

I just read about the death of comrade Gisela Scholtz in the *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor* that came in today's mail. The sadness I felt lifted when I thought about the one time I met her. It was in Arizona, sometime in the 1960s. She had come to Phoenix to meet with young campus radicals while she was in the country at that time.

As I recall, she had a miserable cold that gave her a bad cough, a sore throat, and other miserable symptoms. She could have stayed in bed. Yet, she went to meet with a group of

SDS [Students for a Democratic Society] members to try to win them over to Trotskyism. That group provided the nucleus for the Young Socialist Alliance chapter at Arizona State University.

While she was in Phoenix, we went to see a film that had just been released. It was *The Producers*, a comedy that included a parody of a musical show called "Springtime for Hitler." Of course, we didn't know that was in the movie when we decided to go see it. None of it upset Gisela. She laughed so hard she could hardly breathe because of her cold.

Morris Starsky
Cincinnati, Ohio

Snowstorm

Hard times and trouble seem to bring out the best in people, and the worst in capitalism. On Sunday, January 31 St. Louis, Missouri, was hit by a snowstorm, one of the biggest in its history.

Upon hearing that my mine wasn't working, I decided to do my laundry. I went out to my car and, of course, it wouldn't budge. Immediately, people came over to help. Three young fellows of about ten years arrived with shovels. An older man stopped by with some advice. In a short time we managed to loosen the car. They all went on to help others.

While doing my laundry, I was able to return the favor and help extricate two other cars from deep drifts. In all, my day's tally included getting my car pushed out three times and pushing out six other cars. Not only was all this cooperation voluntary, people were happy to do it. Many people went in groups from car to car all day.

Lest this account of the snowstorm sound like a lark, let me add that a storm of this size is clearly a dangerous problem. Motorists were stranded in freezing weather. Hospitals were critically understaffed. Emergency medical care was virtually non-existent. At least ten people died of heart attacks digging themselves out. In light of this crisis, the politicians' inaction was criminal. Only the selfless cooperation of St. Louis's citizens prevented a catastrophe.

Marty Anderson
St. Louis, Missouri

Headlines

I am writing about the front page headline on the *Militant* of February 19 — "Reagan plunges deeper into El Salvador war." I think it is clear that El Salvador and the entire Central American revolution is more and more the center of world politics in the sense that Vietnam was ten to fifteen years ago.

It is more in the news. More and more protest from diverse groups against U.S. aggression in El Salvador and Guatemala. The demonstrations this spring will be large and they will take place in many cities.

When selling the February 19 *Militant* in working class areas I found two people who weren't sure from the headline if we were for or against U.S. foreign policy. I would suggest more direct or agitational slogans such as "End U.S. military aid to El Salvador" or "U.S. out of El Salvador" or "Stop Reagan's aggression in Central America." In other words, I think the political climate today is such that we can sell more *Militants* with direct, slogan-like headlines with regard to Reagan's Caribbean and Central American policies.

Dan Fein
Tucson, Arizona

Anti-Semitism

In your editorial on the rise of anti-Semitism in the U.S., [*Militant*, February 5] you claimed that anti-Semitism is "like racism" but evidently did not wish to blacken the good name of American Jews by acknowledging the fact that anti-Semitism is merely another type of racism.

Hundreds of years before the Holocaust and the infamous Nuremberg Laws, anti-Semitism was expressed by such terms as "Jewish blood," "Jewish features," "the Jewish race," etc., even when the Jews attacked were converts or non-religious. Marriages between Jews and non-Jews of the same caucasian phenotype have been referred to as "interracial marriages" and their children as "mixed races." Such beliefs continue to this day. If that isn't racism, no such thing exists.

Anti-Semitism should not be mystified, a la Zionism, as a unique, eternal hatred between



"Oh, oh . . ."

gentiles and Jews. Anti-Semitism is neither more nor less important than any other type of racism.

P.B. Kraeger
Madison, Wisconsin

the Democratic and Republican parties.

Jim Kendrick
Dallas, Texas

Real justice

Rex Cauble, former chairman of the Texas Aeronautics Commission, was convicted of ten counts of drug smuggling, conspiracy, racketeering, and misapplication of bank funds in late January. The self-styled, antidrug crusader could be required to forfeit his entire business fortune, worth approximately \$75 million.

Cauble, who called on Ruth Carter Stapleton, the evangelist sister of former President Carter, and Peyton McNight, a state senator, to vouch for his character, was shocked at the conviction.

This story really warms my heart. In these times of blatant capitalist robbery of working people I would like to believe that the jury spoke for all of us in nailing this law-and-order, two-faced crook.

What is especially delightful about the conviction is that this guy was a big supporter of

Soup line

First of all let me say that we await the *Militant* every week. It helps to keep our sanity after reading the daily *Boston Globe*. Truly, with all that is happening throughout the world, the *Militant* keeps us informed from our class standpoint.

Some days I feel like Alice in Wonderland, especially when I read the following in the *Globe*.

"As the number of unemployed workers reaches its highest total in 41 years, the Salvation Army is preparing to revive the 'soup kitchen' program it ran during the Depression, the *Philadelphia Bulletin* reported yesterday. 'The Salvation Army nationally should be prepared, perhaps as early as spring '82, for either a national or a territorial campaign program for the poor . . . on the basis of a national emergency,' the organization's national task force said."

Mary Lipman
Ly, Maine

Mason confronts Bradley in Seaside

Independent candidate for California governor urges debate

BY LYNDIA JOYCE

SEASIDE, Calif. — Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley, a Democrat running for governor of California, came here March 8 to campaign in this largely Black city.

He didn't do very well.

The headline on a page-one story in the *Seaside Tribune* put it well: "Bradley cuts visit short following local confrontation."

Bradley had run into the campaign of Mel Mason, the socialist city council member here, who is an independent candidate for governor.

Everywhere he went, Bradley was

confronted by the Mason campaign. At his first stop, the Seaside restaurant, Bradley met with local civic and business leaders after Seaside Mayor Glen Olea gave him the key to the city.

Bradley cut that meeting short after Mason, who was there despite the efforts of Bradley's entourage of bodyguards to keep him out, challenged him to debate the issues facing Californians.

Later, both candidates visited the Amstar Sugar Corporation's Spreckels plant, where 600 workers are to lose their jobs in June when the plant is permanently closed.

Although Mason and Bradley, both of whom are Black, did not confront each other at Spreckels as they had at the Seaside, their campaigns did. Bradley was shown around by management. Mason talked with workers at the plant, comparing his proposals with Bradley's for dealing with plant closings and other disasters brought on by capitalism.

Those he talked to liked Mason's proposals better.

Bradley used the Seaside meeting to announce his "plan" to deal with plant closings, which have thrown 45,000 Californians out of work in the last two years. Bradley would counsel, assist, and retrain laid-off workers, and attract business to California — with "temporary" concessions.

Bradley avoided or skirted major questions, including affirmative action and school desegregation. Mason asked Bradley why he opposes busing to achieve desegregation.

Bradley tried to cut him off. Mason then challenged him to a public debate. Bradley: "I'm going to promote my campaign — you promote yours."

Bradley, a cop for twenty-one years, called for prosecuting the 100,000 young Californians who did not register for the draft: "We must enforce the law."

A Los Angeles garment worker asked him if he would enforce minimum-wage

laws in the garment industry there: "That's not my jurisdiction." When she tried to go on, he cut short the meeting, for a luncheon with Democratic Party leaders.

At the Spreckels plant, Mason talked with workers as his supporters passed out campaign literature. In one discussion, Jack Davis, a worker at the plant, told Mason:

"These people are going to be slammed out the gate in June with a little severance pay and that's it. They're not compensated for pensions or anything else."

When Mason explained his independent campaign, Davis responded: "It's time someone in politics got into office who represents the people who work."

He added, "Tom Bradley's a parasite on the people, and if Reagan keeps playing around with us, he's going to get a movement in this country. When people get hungry and out of work, then they're all going to get together."

About the Democrats and Republicans he asked: "Why should people have to choose between two evils?"

Mason replied: "That's why working people really do have to form their own party — a labor party. And when the bosses and owners of plants like this one say the plants can't make any more profits, then those plants should be nationalized and run by the workers."

After Bradley fled the Seaside meeting, Mason told reporters: "Bradley refused to deal with affirmative action and other important questions. He refused to deal with my challenge for a public debate."

"As for plant closings, working people don't need advice — they need jobs. With plants closing down and unemployment going up, what is Bradley going to retrain people to do? Industry is moving out — he says he's going to somehow bring industry in by lowering our wages to increase business profits."

"Bradley wants to prosecute young people who refuse to register for the draft. I will join these youths and tens of thousands of antiwar demonstrators on March 27 to demand 'U.S. Out of El Salvador!' Will Bradley?"

"Instead of spending billions on war, we should use that money for human needs."

"Industries cross the border freely into Mexico; workers who seek jobs in the United States should have full rights, including the right to work at union-scale wages. I call for an end to the repression and deportation of undocumented workers."

Bradley had avoided this issue.

Mason, a leader of the National Black Independent Political Party, said Bradley "is being used by the rulers of this country to suck Black people back into the Democratic Party."

"Bradley is addressing the businessmen, the so-called community leaders and Democratic Party officials. He's not addressing the masses of working people who can't be here during the day because they're working, but these are the people who put me in office here in Seaside and who support my campaign."

Earlier, Mason gave an example in action of how his campaign is based on workers and all the oppressed, rather than on the business interests who support Bradley.

Mason led the opposition on the Seaside City Council in defeating a proposed ordinance that could have jailed youths eighteen-years-old or younger for a year for being in video game centers during school hours.



Militant/Charles Ostrofsky

Mel Mason, independent candidate for governor of California

Miners speak against safety cuts

BY MARIAN BUSTIN

PITTSBURGH — Approximately 200 angry coal miners voiced bitter opposition to any cutbacks in mine safety enforcement at a hearing held here February 23.

It was one of three public hearings called throughout the country by the Mine Safety and Health Administration (MSHA). The purpose of the hearings was to receive testimony from coal industry representatives and union miners on proposals to weaken the Coal Mine Health and Safety Act of 1969. These attacks on mine safety were first drafted under the Carter administration in 1980 and will be coming up for congressional review and passage this month. The changes in the act are being fully backed by the Reagan administration.

MSHA's proposals focus mainly on the amendments to the act that were added in 1977 which improved real safety in the mines by levying fines on companies who refused to comply with the law.

In 1968 seventy-eight miners were killed in an explosion at the Consolidation Coal Number 9 mine in Farmington, West Virginia. Outrage by miners over this, which included a strike by miners in West Virginia, forced the federal government to adopt the act.

Enforcement of the act was spurred by the strength of union miners through their mine safety committees and the greater democratic control they won in their union. An unprecedented reduction in the number of mine fatalities was the result.

The proposed changes in the act represent a serious setback to the safety enforcement gains miners won in 1969 and 1977. The amount of fines companies have to pay for safety violations will be lowered, and the amount of time for mine inspections by MSHA personnel reduced.

One proposed change is to institute a \$20 minimum penalty for company violations which are, "not likely to result in a reasonably serious injury or illness." In addition, federal safety inspectors will be required to perform additional burdensome administrative tasks. It's estimated that this administrative work will result in their inspection time in the mines being reduced by at least 50 percent.

The coal operators, in turn, will have more time to violate the law. As one United Mine Workers (UMW) local president put it, these changes will "bring us back to the days when miners were forced to work under the motto, 'Your coal — Our blood.'"

Marty Conners, UMW International Executive Board member from District 5, put it this way, "The \$20 minimum assessment is an outrage. Every fine over \$20 will be contested by the companies. Last year we had 155 deaths in the mines because the operators don't give a damn. The operators run the equipment — not the miners."

He received a standing ovation when he concluded, "It's the same old story — miners have to fight for everything we get. The administration has put a price tag on miners' lives . . . but the miners have just begun to fight."

The testimony of UMW officials and rank and file was in stark contrast to those offered by the coal operators. Representatives of the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA), U.S. Steel, Westmoreland Coal Company, and others showed their complete contempt for the health and safety of the nation's miners. One after the other they presented "proof" that federal enforcement of the law has been too strict on the companies and that MSHA's proposals were an improvement since they relied more on

the "good faith" of the operators. Many miners noted their disgust at the obvious compliance between MSHA and the coal industry in trying to save the operators a buck at the expense of working miners.

The facts speak for themselves. In 1981, 153 miners were killed. Twenty-nine have already died this year in mine accidents and, at this rate, 240 deaths will occur by the end of 1982. UMW President Sam Church noted that it's ironic that MSHA is proposing these changes at a time when mine accidents and fatalities are increasing at an astronomical rate, and added that, "these proposals will only result in loss of lives."

The rank-and-file miners verified this by presenting their own experiences. Around thirty local union presidents, mine safety-committeemen, and union members testified that, rather than cut back on the effectiveness of safety inspectors and penalties, they need more enforcement and more inspectors. One safety-committeeman said, "the federal inspectors are our only assurance that the companies won't get away with safety violations. If you make them spend half their time doing paperwork, or in conference with mine management, then safety violations will increase by half . . . and more deaths will result."

The miners in attendance, many of whom wore their work clothes and came straight off the midnight shift, made it clear to MSHA and the coal companies that they won't take this lying down. The 1969 Coal Mine Health and Safety Act came about because of their struggles and will not be changed without a fight.

Marian Bustin, a coal miner working in northern West Virginia, is a member of UMW Local 2095.